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# SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN ṬĀHIR MARVAZĪ

ON

## CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA

Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary

 $\mathbf{BY}$ 

### V. MINORSKY

Professor of Persian in the University of London

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
74 Grosvenor Street, London, W.1
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### INTRODUCTION

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### (a) Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī

In 1937 Dr. A. J. Arberry announced the discovery, which he had made in the India Office Library, of an almost complete copy of the Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān, "The Natural Properties of Animals," by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī.¹ His preliminary identification of the MS. (Delhi, Arabic 1949) is fully confirmed by the seven passages from Marvazi's work quoted by 'Aufi.2 To cite but one example, the story of the fleet-footed Arab whose prowess Sharaf al-Zamān witnessed in 448/1056 on Nahr-Razīq³ figures on fol. 28b of the India Office MS. Another means of control is afforded by Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Muhannā's Kitāb hilyat al-insān.4 The author (d. 828/1425) quotes the *Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān* as an authority for the Turkish cycle of 12 years, in connection with an embassy sent to Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznavī by the rulers "of Ṣīn and the Turks."5 This important passage, with many new details, is found on ff. 15b-16b of the India Office MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., July, 1937, pp. 481-3. See also my paper *Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI<sup>o</sup> siecle*, read at the Académie des Inscriptions, Comptes-rendus des Séances, 1 October 1937, pp. 317-24.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. M. Nizāmu'd-din's Introduction to the Jawāmi' u'l-hikāyāt, 1929, pp. 88-9. Systematic comparison will probably reveal more borrowing from Marvazi. At least eight of the anecdotes (Nos. 1935-44) in 'Aufi seem to be borrowed from Marvazi's Chap. XVI.

<sup>3</sup> The canal of Marv which flowed to the west of the present-day G'aur-qal'a, see

Istakhri, p. 260, cf. Zhukovsky, *Razvalini starago Merva*, 1894, p. 19.

4 An Arabic dictionary of the Persian, Turkish and Mongolian languages.

5 In P. Melioransky's edition of the Turkish part of the book, SPb. 1900, pp. 041–

<sup>042.</sup> In the Constantinople edition of the book, A.H. 1338-40, p. 185, the passage is incomplete. Cf. Barthold, Turkestan, 286, note 2.

Very little is known of the life of Marvazi. As his Iranian nisba indicates, he was a native of Marv.<sup>2</sup> He was employed as a physican at the court of Sultan Malik-shāh, whose name appears several times in the text,3 and he probably continued to serve under his successors down to Sanjar. He must have died at an advanced age for the dates occurring in his book cover a very long period; the above-mentioned episode on the Nahr-Razīq (f. 28b) happened in 448/1056; in 478/1085 the author healed the wound of Malikshah's elephant in Marv (f. 70b and Nizāmu'd-dīn, o.c., 89); in 483/1090 he was in Isfahan, Rieu, Arabic Catalogue, 460b; under 514/1120 he refers to an invasion of ants (f. 210b). Had he been even only ten years old in A.D. 1056, he would be seventy-four by A.D. 1120, at which time his scientific career must have been practically at an end. Sharaf al-Zamān's great admiration for the Greeks might suggest his scientific affiliation to Avicenna (d. 428/ 1037), whom he quotes as "the philosopher Ibn-Sinā," though he seems to possess a direct knowledge of such medical luminaries as Hippocrates and Galen (in Arabic translations!). The author of the Br. Mus. Catalogue who examined the zoological part of the book, states that Marvazi often quotes such other authorities, as Jāḥiz and Bīrūnī.4 His knowledge of medicine and natural sciences, as well as the keenness of his inquisitive mind are everywhere evident in his work. In Chapter XVI at least four examples of human anomalies are described from his personal observations.

Some small details might suggest that Marvazi had Shī'a leanings.

¹ No references to him could be found in the usual bibliographic works such as Hājjī Khalīfa's Kashf al-zunūn, or under the item "Marv" in such geographical dictionaries as Yāqūt, and the Haft-Iqlīm. Sam'ānī, who died in 562/1166, was a younger contemporary of Marvazi and himself a native of Marv, but he took little interest in anything outside the circles of collectors of traditions, reciters, memorizers of the Qor'ān and other such grave people. Moreover the abundance of scholars in Marv makes him say: wal-Marāwiza fī-him kathratun fa'staghnaynā 'an dhikri-him li-shiddati-him (f. 553b). The Egyptian "zoologist" al-Damīrī, who in his extensive Hayāt al-hayawān (773/1372) quotes over eight hundred authors, ignored Marvazi's work, see J. de Somogyi, Index des sources de . . . ad-Damīrī, in J.A., juillet, 1928, pp. 5–128.

work, see J. de Somogyi, Index des sources de . . . ad-Damiri, in J.A., juillet, 1928, pp. 5-128.

<sup>2</sup> The nisba is formed with the Persian suffix -zi. Dr. Arberry has recognised the incorrectness of a note in a late hand on the wrapper of the MS. which attributes the work to Sharaf al-zamān (al-dīn?) Muḥammad al-Īlāqī, "a pupil of Avicenna."

<sup>3</sup> F.63a on Malik shah's slave called gurba-khwār; p. 70a on the king's elephant; f. 95b on a wild ass brought to the king. M. shah is referred to as dead.

<sup>4</sup> Jāḥiz is quoted on ff. 59a and 81b. Dr. Arberry tells me that in the chapter on eunuchs Marvazi plagiarises the Kitāb al-Ḥayawān of Jāḥiz. See also the commentary on Chap. XIII, §5. I have not succeeded in finding a reference to Birunī in Arab. 1949.

Speaking of the rulers of Multān (fol. 36b), he says that they read the khuṭba to the "Imām of the Muslims," meaning by that the Fāṭimid caliph, cf. H.-'A., p. 239, and Muqaddasi, 455. Marvazi's great admiration for the valour of the (Shī'a) Daylamites (Chapter VII) is also conspicuous. However, in both cases the tendency may belong to the original sources, for speaking of 'A'isha's exploits (p. 48b) Marvazi affixes to her name the usual orthodox benedictions.

(b) Contents of the Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān

The contents of Marvazi's work can be tabulated in the following way:

- A. Maqāla I. Introduction of mixed contents falling into three divisions:
  - (a) General, on the lines of typical Islamic  $\bar{a}d\bar{a}b$ :

Chapters I-II: (missing in the MS.)

III: on the customs of kings (incomplete).

IV: on scholars (f. 1b).

V: on hermits and sufis (f. 5a).

VI: on ethics (f. 7a).

(b) Geographical, interspersed with anthropological considerations:

Chapter VII: on the Persians (f. 9b).

VIII: on the Chinese (f. 12a).

IX: on the Turks (f. 20a).

X: on the Byzantines (Rūm) (f. 24a)

XI: on the Arabs (f. 26b).

XII: on the Indians (f. 32a).

XIII: on the Abyssinians (f. 39a).

XIV: on the Equator (f. 41a).

XV: on the outlying countries  $(atr\bar{a}f)$  and islands (f. 42a).

(c) Specially anthropological:

Chapter XVI: on monsters and other aberrations (f. 45b).

XVII: on males and females (f. 48a).

XVIII: on eunuchs (f. 57a).

XIX: on the length of life (f. 59b).

XX: on customs (f. 62a).

XXI: on the utility of the organs of the human body (ff. 64b-66b).

B. Maqāla II. A TREATISE ON ZOOLOGY giving notices of individual animals, from the elephant down to the flea (ff. 66b-217).

<sup>1</sup> In a later hand this part is subdivided into smaller sections, viz. Maqāla II, containing descriptions of 49 animals, Maqāla III, ditto 94 birds, Maqāla IV, ditto 35 insects and reptiles.

The MS. is incomplete at the end. Only after Dr. Arberry's discovery did it become clear that the British Museum MS. (Add. 21.102) represents a second copy of the Tabā'i'. Unfortunately this "Opus ad Zoologiam pertinens" is also defective at both ends; it begins at f. 54 of the India Office MS., omitting the whole geographical part of the first Maqala. A description of the MS. is found in Cureton-Rieu's Catalogue, DCCCCXCVI, p. 460b.2

### (c) The scope of the present edition

The limited purpose of the present publication is to render accessible to the public the geographical chapters on the Far East which form a particularly welcome supplement to the available Islamic literature on this subject.

Thus the Zoological Treatise falls outside our scope, and of the Introduction only the chapters on China (VIII), the Turks (IX) and India (XII) come within our purview.3 We have joined to them the chapters on Southern Lands (XIII and XV), which are useful for the understanding of the data on the Far East. In Marvazi's eyes, the Ethiopians (Negroes) are the antithesis of the Turks, and his chapters on these two races complement one another. Chapter XV of the "remote" countries and southern islands is factitious: Marvazi uses it as a kind of cemetery to bury the tails of stories which are told elsewhere. It was our business to preserve these useful appendices and even4 restore them to their bodies whenever the connection was obvious. The data on the islands continue the description of India.

Consequently our work comprises:

- (a) the Arabic text of Chapters VIII, IX, XII, XIII and XV;
- (b) an English translation of these Chapters;

<sup>1</sup> The seal on the last page bears an indistinct inscription: 'hyā'šr 'hyā (?), with a date which reads like 771 (A.D. 1369). The formula \* ihyā ibshir ihyā is used in Iraq for magic purposes (A. Dūrī). The date indicates that the Ms. was incomplete as early as the middle of the 14th cent. A.D.

2 Quotations from a "Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān of Ūstād Majd al-dīn Marvazī" are found in a MS. collection of Persian texts described in Flügel's Catalogue (Vienna), III, 451,

in a MS. collection of Persian texts described in Flugel's Catalogue (Vienna), 111, 451, No. 1963, extract 19 (comprising only two or three folios). The author cannot be our Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir. "Sharaf al-dīn Majd al-dīn" was the title of 'Aufi's uncle who acted as the court physician to the Qara-khanid Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn, v.i. commentary on Chapter XIII, §6.

3 The chapters on the Persians (VII) and Arabs (XI) are vague and discursive. That on the Byzantines (X) belongs to a different cycle and should be edited

separately.

In our Translation but not in the Text.

(c) a running commentary on them in the order of the sections which have been introduced into the text.

### (d) The interest of the Far Eastern Chapters

The text included in the present book is rich in novelty. The chapter on China contains a unique report on the embassy from the K'itan emperor of Northern China to the court of the conqueror of India Sultan Maḥmūd (A.D. 1027), and many new facts about Chinese customs, foreign colonies in the ports, towns of China and the roads leading thereto. The chapter on the Turks has a number of new facts on certain Siberian tribes and the chain of migrations from the Far East for which Marvazi seems to be the original authority. The abundant details on Indian creeds in Chapter XII are based on a report which was presumably drawn up, circa A.D. 800, i.e. more than two centuries before Biruni. It will be no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a paragraph in Marvazi without some new detail or lesson in it.

### (e) Importance of Marvazi for comparisons

The importance of the new text for purposes of comparison must personal flags of Muslim geographers no longer cover the cargo of their works. Gradually our research tends towards the elucidation of the sources and original reports on which the compilations are based. The critical methods which have acquired rights of citizenship in classical and mediaeval studies must necessarily be introduced into the examination of Islamic writings. In my translation of the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam (1937) I have endeavoured to test the origins of this important geographical text (dated 372/982), and I now find the parallels offered by Marvazi invaluable for an analytic study of the tradition. A comparison of the available accounts of Indian creeds on the basis of Marvazi's work (and of the unpublished chapters of Gardīzī) has suggested to me an hypothesis as to the date of the composition of the original report (v.i. p. 126). An examination of the Far Eastern toponymy in Biruni and in Marvazi has brought me to the conclusion that both used the same sources, and among them, the data supplied by the K'itan ambassador in A.D. 1027. Hitherto our only source of information on the great migration of tribes

which extended from Manchuria to the Black Sea was 'Aufi (circa 633/1236). We now know that the report already existed in Marvazi (circa 514/1120) and there are reasons to believe that the latter personally knew the amir Äkinchi b. Oochqar, whose name is quoted in the report (v.i. p. 30). Many more such facts will be found in the commentary on individual chapters.

### (f) Marvazi's written sources (Jayhānī)

Apart from the reports which constitute the chief novelty of Marvazi, his compilation is based on the traditional stock of Muslim geographers. The number of the written sources which Marvazi used was apparently limited.1 In his text there are no traces of Abū Zayd Balkhi (as available in Iştakhri and I. Ḥauqal), Mas'ūdī or Muqaddasi, but he made extensive use of a source of the highest importance, namely Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik² of the Sāmānid minister Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Jayhānī (earlier part of the tenth century A.D.). This opus magnum is lost, but its traces have survived in many geographical works, especially those written in Khorasan.3

The facts concerning the composition of Jayhānī's Masālik can be summed up as follows:

- (1) The exact date of its completion is unknown. The earliest borrowers from it are supposed to be I. Faqih and I. Rusta, but this is doubtful. Even about these two authors our knowledge is limited to the fact that they wrote some time after A.D. 900 (v.i. p. 8).
- (2) According to Muqaddasi, 271, Jayhānī incorporated in his book "the whole of the original work of I. Khurdādhbih," i.e. the latter's homonymous Kitāb al-masālik (first version A.D. 232/846,

¹ Some of them are quoted in the text. Chapter VIII: §14, Akhbār (?); §36, al-Masālik; §\$17-20, Hippocrates and Galen. Chapter XIII: §4, Ḥamza Iṣfahāni; §6, Tawārīkh (?); §7, Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk. Chapter XV: §7, Abū Sa'id 'Ubaydallāh b. Jibrīl; §15, al-Masālik wal-Mamālik; §22, Kitāb Iskandar; §23, Kitāb al-baḥr. These titles are discussed at the appropriate places of our commentary. Other authorities quoted: Aristotle, 11b, 51a; Dioscorides: 66a, 209b; Dīqrātīs (?), 47b; Aṣmā'ī, 30a; Shāfi'ī, 50a; Ibn 'Abbās, 7b; Abul-'Abbās, called Jarrāb al-daula, 45b; Māshāllāh, 60b; al-qādī al-Tanūkhī 98a. Several reports are introduced impersonally: "says a Baghdadian," 46a, "says a Bedouin," ibid.; "says a Christian," ibid., etc.

² Quoted expressis verbis in the characteristic passage of f. 76a (v.i. p. 91), as well as in Chapter VIII, §36, and Chapter XV, §15, but mostly unacknowledged.

³ See Marquart, Osteurop. und Ostas. Streifzüge, p. xxxi; Barthold's and my own Prefaces to the Ḥudūd al-'Alam, London, 1937, and my articles, The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-marjān, in BSOS, IX/I, 1937, pp. 141-150, and Une nouvelle source musulmane, 1937, pp. 317-24.

source musulmane, 1937, pp. 317-24.

second version 272/885?). It must be borne in mind that the text of I. Kh., as published by de Goeje, BGA, VI, is only a compendium, whereas Muqaddasi's statement suggests that Jayhānī used I. Kh.'s original text.

- (3) Jayhānī himself collected information actively and systematically. Gardizi says that after having become vazir in 301/913-4 he wrote letters to the courts of the Byzantine empire, China, India, etc., with enquiries about the customs existing there. Muqaddasi reports that Jayhānī assembled foreigners and questioned them on revenues, roads and other matters of political interest, which also points to a period after A.D. 913. Writing in Bukhara Jayhānī could extend the field of his investigation much deeper into Central Asia and the Far East than was possible for his Arab contemporaries. Therein consists the outstanding importance of the passages from Jayhānī which have survived in later sources.
- (4) Jayhānī's system of personal enquiries must have extended over a period of years and it is to be assumed that individual chapters of his work were completed and re-written several times; this may explain why the quotations from him do not entirely coincide in different borrowers. Moreover the bulk of his work (seven volumes!) gave the epitomists considerable choice in the selection of details.
- (5) We now know that in 309/921 I. Fadlan actually met Jayhani who still enjoyed the high position of secretary (kātib) to the king and was called in Khorasan al-shaykh al-'amīd.1 I feel confident that I. Fadlan kept in touch with his protector Jayhani and informed him of his experiences in Bulghar (possibly by way of private communication, or even orally). Such information may have been incorporated in the later copies of Jayhānī's work, and this would account for some passages in Marvazi, etc., which sound like echoes from I. Fadlan.
- (6) Another new fact is the preface to the MS. which A. Z. Validi<sup>1</sup> discovered in Mashhad in 1923. Its author enumerates the contents of his collectanea<sup>2</sup> and says that he has added to I. Faqīh's work

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. P. Kovalevsky, Novootkritiy text Ibn Fadlana in Vestnik drevney istorii, 1938 I (2), 56–71; [Anonymous], Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana na Volgu, pod redaktsiyey I. Y. Krachkovskago, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1939, fol. 197b of the MS. found in Mashhad. The editor believes, pp. 30, 41, that I. Fadlān returned also via Bukhara.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the second part of I. Faqīh, two risālas of Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil and the risāla of I. Fādlān.

"the two risālas which Abu Dulaf addressed to us (risālatayni kataba-humā ilaynā Abū Dulaf)." Consequently the author of the preface was one of the two dedicatees whom Abū Dulaf addresses in his risālas (yā man anā 'abdukumā)." Abū Dulaf claims to have accompanied, on its return journey, the "Chinese embassy" which visited the court of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43), i.e. the king with whose reign Jayhānī's activities were closely connected. Jayhānī's interest in geography is well known and his personal position would be in keeping with the respect with which Abu Dulaf treats his dedicatees. It is tempting to identify one of them with Jayhānī. If correct, this surmise¹ would be valuable as giving a new later date at which Jayhānī was still alive (circa A.D. 943).

### (g) Parallel texts

One of our important tasks is to trace the vestiges of Jayhānī in the available geographical works.<sup>2</sup> It will be helpful to give in this place a short survey of those works connected with Jayhānī which are constantly cited as parallels in my explanations.

- (a) IBN AL-FAQIH is accused by the author of the Fihrist, 154, of having "plundered" Jayhānī's work.3 De Goeje, BGA, V, p. xi, doubts this statement on the grounds that no facts in I. Faqih are later than 290/902. The text of the abridgement of I. Faqih, published by de Goeje, does not support the accusation of al-Fihrist, but on the other hand some "eastern" chapters, which would be decisive in our case, are absent both in BGA, V, and in the Mashhad MS.4
- (b) IBN RUSTA does not mention Jayhānī. His work is placed, circa 300/912, see BGA, VII, p. vi, which date is earlier than the appointment of Jayhānī to the vazirate. On the peoples of Eastern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is cautiously suggested ("Is it possibly Jayhānī?") by the editor of I. Faḍlān's Puteshestvie, 40.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Putesnestvie\*, 40.

\*\* Much has been achieved in this direction by Baron V. Rosen, Barthold and especially Marquart in his \*Streifzüge\*, p. xxx\*, and his later works on the Comans, Arctic lands and Siberian tribes. See in more detail my translation of the \*Hudūd al-'Alam\*. Marquart considered the publication of the \*Hudūd and of 'Aufi as the necessary preliminary of further research. An analysis of the contents of 'Aufi was published by Prof. Nizāmud-dīn in 1929. The \*Hudūd has been available since 1937 and now the source of 'Aufi, unexpectedly recovered by Dr. Arberry, is presented to the public.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Muqaddasi, 271, accuses I. Faqih of having incorporated the work of Jāḥiz, which de Goeje considers more likely.

<sup>4</sup> If Jayhānī is originally responsible for the collectanea which has survived in the Mashhad MS., v.s. p. 7, n. 2, this would be a further indication that I. Faqih's was independent of Jayhānī.

Europe he uses the early ("Bulkār-Burdās") report, which is previous to I. Faḍlān's exploration (v.i. p. 111), and which possibly belongs to I. Kh.'s complete text. On the other hand, I. Rusta has many pasṣages on the northern and remote lands (India) which correspond literally with the Ḥudūd, Gardīzī and Marvazi, who undoubtedly used Jayhānī. All we can say is that I. Rusta's quotations are probably borrowed from the complete I. Kh. (which was used by Jayhānī as his ground-work), or possibly that I. Rusta used only an earlier draft of Jayhānī which did not include the later additions.¹

- (c) Митанная в. Ţāнія Magdisi, in Vol. IV of his Kitāb al-bad', ed. С. Huart, 1907, has many points in common with I. Rusta, the Ḥudūd, Gardizi and Marvazi (see especially our Chapter XII). Muṭahhar quotes a Kitāb al-Masālik, IV, 19, and as he wrote at Bust (Central Afghanistan), а.д. 966, he could certainly have had Jayhānī's work at his disposal.
- (d) The anonymous Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (GMS, N.S. XI, 1937) is a compilation begun in 372/982 in Gūzgān (Northern Afghanistan). For Islamic lands it utilizes chiefly the tradition of Abū Zayd Balkhi, as improved by Iṣṭakhri, but its chief interest lies in the chapters on China, India and the Turks which closely coincide with Gardīzī and Marvazi and must be based on Jayhānī.
- (e) M. B. A. Muqaddasi's Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, BGA, III, was completed between 375/985-7. The author knew Jayhānī's work; but the only point of interest for our purpose is his passage on Jayhānī's methods of which he speaks rather harshly.
- (f) Al-Nadīm's Fihrist (377/987) contains only a short notice on Jayhānī. The chapter on Indian creeds is partly, pp. 347-9, based on the same source as Muṭahhar, Gardīzī and Marvazi, but al-Nadīm utilizes it directly and not through Jayhānī, which has certain advantages for purposes of comparison. The sources of the chapters on the idols, p. 346, and on China, p. 350 (in which, among others, Abū Dulaf Yanbū'ī is quoted) are still obscure.
- (g) Bīrūnī knew Jayhānī, but his famous works contain only a small number of quotations from the *Kitāb al-masālik* (v.i. Chapter IX, §42). Bīrūnī's al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī, written circa 421/1030

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The passage on the Oxus in I. Rusta, 91-2, points to Jayhānī as the source, v.i. under Bakri.

(Br. Mus. Or. 1997) gives extremely valuable parallels to Marvazi's overland routes to China, but some of these data are subsequent to Jayhānī.

- (h) GARDĪZĪ'S Zayn al-akhbār (written in Ghaznī, circa 442/1050) contains two appendices, one on the Turks, published by Barthold in Otchot o poyezdke, SPb. 1897, pp. 78-103, and another on India (Cambridge, King's College MS. 213, ff. 197b-209a), which is used in the present work for the first time. 1 Both chapters contain a mass of interesting details and are very useful for the explanation of our text. Gardīzī's chapter on India is particularly close to Marvazi. but gives more details. Gardīzī directly refers to Jayhānī.
- (i) BAKRI wrote in Spain and died in 487/1094. From his geographical compilation al-Masālik wal-Mamālik Baron V. Rosen published the items referring to the peoples of Eastern Europe, etc.<sup>2</sup> In the description of the Oxus (fragment 6) Bakri quotes an "Aḥmad," who in his turn refers to Jayhānī as his authority. The passage is very close to I. Rusta, 91. In fragment 9, Bakri describes the Pechenegs, Khazars, Furdās, Majgharī, al-Sarīr and Burjān and, on the whole, his abridgment runs parallel to I. Rusta, Gardīzī and Marvazi. The quotation in fragment 6 suggests that Bakri used Jayhānī's data at second-hand.
- (i) Shahristāni wrote his Kitāb al-milal wal-nihal in Khorasan in 521/1127. His study is limited to the religious systems of various peoples. The source of his chapter on India, II, 444-58, at least in part, coincides with the data of Mutahhar, the Fihrist, Gardīzī and Marvazi, but it is probable that instead of Jayhānī he used some more technical magālāt reproducing the statements of an ancient report (circa A.D. 800), (v.i. p. 129).
- (k) 'AUFI, who died some time between A.D. 1232 and 1242, wrote his Jawāmi' al-hikāyāt in India. Prof. Nizāmu'd-dīn's Introduction gives a detailed analysis of its contents and an excellent survey of its sources. 'Aufi is the only author who quotes extensively from the Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān, and to him we owe our knowledge of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sachau in his translation of Bīrūnī's *India*, Preface, XLIII, and II, 359, 397, did not properly appraise Gardīzī's contribution which I hope to publish separately.

<sup>2</sup> *Izvestiya al-Bekri*, S. Petersburg, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Baron Rosen, p. 9, identifies him with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad I. Faqīh, but the latter's account of the Oxus is different both in BGA, V, 324, and in the newly

discovered Mashhad MS., f. 163a.

the name of its author. It is probable that many quotations from Marvazi have been inserted by 'Aufi without acknowledgment. 'Aufi's Persian translation provides useful parallels to our text. He also refers to a Masālik-va-Mamālik, by which he undoubtedly means Jayhānī,¹ though the vagueness of his references does not enable us to decide whether he had a direct knowledge of the work of the Sāmānid minister.²

### (h) Principles of work and acknowledgments

In view of present conditions, Marvazi's text is reproduced in photograph from my own transcript. The editing of an Arabic text from a single MS., worm-eaten and lacking diacritical dots, is a risky enterprise. However, the existence of parallel texts to some extent alleviated the difficulties of my task. Whatever the imperfections of the readings adopted I hope the text will render some services to the future editor of the entire text of the Tabā'i'.

My translation makes no claims to literary form. All the doubtful points in the text had to be respected in order to avoid creating an impression that the sense is more definite than it is. The translation follows the text as closely as possible so as to enable persons outside the circle of Islamic scholars to form their own opinion.

No Arabic type was available for quotations in my Translation and Commentary and I have used transliteration throughout. In the case of more ambiguous and polyphonous spellings, I have given the Arabic forms and variants on p. 52 of the Arabic text. In my transliteration I have deliberately adopted a latitudinarian practice with regard to the well known names (Baghdad, Biruni). In the less common but frequently quoted names I use the diacritical marks the first time, but only here and there in the following pages by way of reminder.

In my Commentary I have often had to refer to my translation of the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, of which, in fact, the present work is a development and continuation. When a point has already been explained, the commentary is limited to a reference, but any new fact or detail in Marvazi receives as full consideration as I can give.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the solution of the problem which embarrassed Nizāmu'd-dīn, o.c., 102. <sup>2</sup> But v.i. Chap. VIII, §13.

I am grateful to the Trustees of the Forlong Fund for undertaking the publication of my work.

Above all I must thank Dr. Arberry who showed a truly Sufi spirit of disinterestedness in yielding up to me the honour of explaining a text which he had discovered. It was hoped at first that the work might have been accomplished by both of us jointly, and Dr. Arberry kindly gave me his typescript of the text and supplied the first draft of the translation of Chapter IX. Other duties prevented him from continuing his collaboration and I have had to assume the responsibility for any imperfections of the present book.

Many points in the chapters on China and India could be elucidated only by scholars fully versed in the languages and cultures of these great countries. For China, I was fortunate in having the advice of two distinguished scholars, Professors J. Mullie (Louvain) and G. Haloun (Cambridge), who have not spared their time in answering my queries and in trying to find parallels in Chinese sources. On India, my friends and colleagues Dr. L. D. Barnett, F.B.A., and Prof. H. W. Bailey have given me their advice ungrudgingly. The progress realised in the explanation of the Indian terms and names, greatly disfigured in Arabic transcription, is due to the help of the Indianists mentioned. All the suggestions coming from outside are duly acknowledged in the text.

In the explanation of the Arabic text I received much help from my learned Persian friends Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī and Sayyid Ḥasan Taqizadeh. My former pupil, A.A.M. al-Marāghī patiently collated with me the text of the India Office MS., and many good suggestions in Arabic are due to this scholar brought up within the walls of al-Azhar. His colleague A. Dūrī helped me in correcting my transcript of the original text.

Prof. E. H. Minns, F.B.A., most kindly agreed to check the English of my Translation, and my pupil, J. A. Boyle, similarly obliged me with regard to my Commentary.

At a period of great strain and anxiety, my wife patiently typed my copy in its successive avatars and prepared the Index. 1937—1941.

### **ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

### CHAPTER VIII

### OF THE CHINESE

(F.12a) I. The kingdom of China embraces a vast area, comprises many towns, cities and villages and belongs to three climes. (The latter) are as follows.

The First Clime begins in the East at the farthest limit of the Chinese lands and stretches over the latter in their southern extension. In it lies the King's City and the harbour of the ships which (is called) the Chinese Harbour. Then it stretches across the seashore in the south of India (Hind), then across the lands of Sind, and the island of al-K.rk (until) it cuts through the sea in the direction of Arabia and the territory of Yemen with its lands, which are Zufār, 'Omān, Aden, Ḥaḍramūt, Ṣanā', Jurash, Mahra, Saba', etc. Then it cuts through the Qulzum sea and stretches across the Ḥabasha lands, cuts the Egyptian Nile and stretches across a place called Jarmī, which is the capital of Ḥabasha, across Danqala, which is the capital of Nubia, then into the territories of Maghrib, to the south of the Berber countries, until it ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Second Clime begins in the East and stretches across China, Hind (12b) and Sind, passing through al-Manṣūra and Daybul. It cuts through the Green Sea, the Sea of Basra and the Arabian peninsula (across) the territories of Najd, Tihāma, Yamāma, Baḥrayn and Hajar. It cuts through the Qulzum Sea and runs through Upper Egypt and the territories of Maghrib, across the central part of Ifrīqiya, then across the Berber lands, ending in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Third Clime begins in the East and stretches across the northern part of the Chinese lands, then across the lands of Hind and the northern part of the lands of Sind, then across the lands of Kābul, Kirmān and Sijistān, then across the coast of the Sea of Basra. It passes through the districts of Ahwāz, by the lands of Syria, after which it cuts through the lower part of the Egyptian territory and of Qayruwān and ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The FOURTH CLIME begins in the East and runs across the lands of Tibet, then Khorasan and Transoxiana, the territories of 'Irāq

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and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rūm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Tanja (Tanger) to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Fifth Clime begins in the East in the lands of Gog and Magog and runs through the northern part of Khorasan, Transoxiana and Khwārazm, then through Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and the lands of Rūm, then through the shores of the Syrian Sea in their northern part, then through the lands of Spain, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The SIXTH CLIME begins in the East in the North of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Turks, then across the shores of the Abaskūn Sea, in their northern part, then cuts through the Sea of Rūm and stretches along the lands of the Saqāliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The SEVENTH CLIME begins in the East of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Toghuzghuz and the territory of the Turks, then across the lands of the Alān, the Sarīr, the Burjān, some of the Saqāliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

- 2. The territory of China belongs to three of these climes in view of the (great) extension of its frontiers and the number of its lands. Inasmuch as its lands are situated towards the Sunrise their air is pure, the waters cold and digestible and the soil good. As its lands possess such properties, its inhabitants and cultivators are of a similar quality because we have mentioned¹ that the most important thing for an animal is the soil on which it develops, and therefore a man is called after his home (lit. "soil"), as he is called after his parents, e.g. Ḥijāzī, Sha'āmī (Syrian), Rūmī, Hindī, Ṣīnī, as well as 'Adnānī, Qaḥṭānī, 'Alawī, 'Abbāsī. The inhabitants of China have a moderate temperament, pleasant forms and faces and mild manners. They are a people varying according to their countries and places of residence.
- 3. Their territories are divided into three categories, namely, Sīn, Qitāy², called by common people Khitāy, and Uyghur, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Ṣīn (China).
- 4. The people of China are the most skilful of men in handicrafts. No nation approaches them in this. The people of Rūm are highly proficient (in crafts), but they do not reach the standards of the Chinese. The latter say that all the men are blind in craftsmanship, except the people of Rūm who (however) are one-eyed, that is to say that they know only half the business.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Commentary, p, 156. <sup>2</sup> Spelt *Qutay* throughout.

- 5. The Chinese do not mix with the Turks from whom they differ in most things because the latter wear jubbas and turbans and not  $qab\bar{a}s$  and hats. (On the contrary) the Qitāy and Uyghur mix with the Turks and have relations with them. They have relations and correspondence with the kings of Transoxiana, whereas the Chinese are different and do not allow strangers to enter their country and stay among them.
- 6. This is the law that was given to them by the false prophet  $M\bar{A}N\bar{I}$  when he implanted his faith in their hearts, this faith being dualism. He feared lest strangers should come to them and explain to them the futility of this faith and convert them from it.
- 7. I met a clever man who had been to China and traded with the Chinese in their goods. He said that the city which is their capital is called Y.njūr. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called Kwfwā, but the king resides in Y.njūr. (The merchant) said: This town is crossed by a great river which divides it into two parts (13b). The king with his retinue, army and attendants resides in one part, while in the other are the dwellings of the subjects and the merchants. Their king is called Tafghāj-khān, and it is he who is called Faghfūr.
- 8. He said that because of their skill in crafts the Chinese do wonderful things. For example, he said that their king during each definite period, which (the merchant) mentioned, has a day in which audience is given to the nobles and the commoners and the king listens to (their) complaints. In front of the audience-hall there is a large and spacious square at the gate of which is placed a large block of wood, and on the latter a hatchet. The first who enters takes the hatchet and with it strikes one single blow on the block. Then he who comes after him strikes a blow, and so does each one who enters. And when the audience is concluded, out of that block there appears a perfect likeness of either a horse, or a lion, or a man, and so on, (although) each one who enters strikes only one blow. And the acme of their skill is that (after) the one who entered the first and struck the first blow, he who follows him knows what likeness was intended when the beginning was made.
- 9. With them the art of (making) images is held for (divine) worship and approach to God because Mānī had given them such orders and beguiled them with the words of philosophers. The latter say as the final conclusion of their philosophy that one is agreeable to God in proportion to (what) human power can achieve.
  - 10. He also mentioned that among the market population there

are men who go about the city selling goods, fruits and so on, and each of them has built himself a cart in which he sits and in which he puts stuffs, goods and whatever he requires in his trade. cart goes by itself without an animal (to draw it), and he sits in the cart stopping it and setting it in motion whenever he desires so.

- II. And he said: I saw the market population eager in games of chance. There is no shop without dice or backgammon and sometimes (when) the parties (in a deal) have difficulties about something, one of them says: "Let us gamble for it," and from business they turn to trickery.
- 12. As regards the tailoring of cloths and draperies the Chinese possess in it an elegance and skill which is not attained by any nation.
- 13. We have already said (?) that the Magian BIHĀFARĪDH brought with him from China a green shirt which (14a) being folded could be held in the hand so that nothing would appear of it.
- 14. It is written in the Akhbār (or "there is some written information") that an envoy of some Muslim king set out to the kingdom of China. It is said that when he reached the capital of the king of China the (latter's) people met him with respect and welcomed his arrival. He says: I saw their king's servants who are as lovely as full moons. They are those who are specially destined2 for the king's service and they speak on his behalf as ambassadors. He says: One of them used to come to me as the king's envoy, listen to my answers and transmit them (to the king). He knew most languages and while some day he spoke to me on behalf of the king suddenly my eye fell on a black mole on his breast which was apparent under his shirt as if it were uncovered, and I was filled with wonder at the perfect whiteness of his face, at the blackness of his mole and the thinness of his shirt. He asked: "What has happened to thee that thy state is changed?" and I replied: "My wonder is great at the thinness of thy shirt and its beauty." He said: "Hast thou concluded that I am wearing but one shirt?" Then he rose and took off one shirt, then another, until he had taken off five of them. And so the mole was apparent from under five (layers) of clothing. And this is one of the kinds of (their) textiles.
- 15. And they possess many other kinds which are exported from their country together with (other) astonishing and strange rarities. The importations to their country are: ivory, frankincense, genuine<sup>3</sup> Slavonic amber which falls in drops of resin from trees in (the lands

 <sup>\*</sup>Maḥbūbīn, but the text has majbūbīn "fully castrated."
 Clearly spelt y.khtaṣ.rūna. Perhaps: \*yaqtaṣirūna, cf. Text, p. \*8<sub>7</sub>.
 Fuṣūṣī, perhaps the kind "to be set in bezels (fuṣūṣ)."

- of) the Slavonic sea. (It is imported) because in China amber is blackish and there is no demand for it, but there is a demand for the genuine one for their ornaments. They pretend that it is helpful against the evil eye. There is also a demand for \* $khut\bar{u}$  (spelt  $khat\bar{u}$ ), which is the horn of the rhinoceros, and this is the most precious freight for China because they make of it girdles, and the price of each such girdle reaches high sums amongst them.
- 16. The importers to China may not enter the city and most of their business is done in the absence (of the parties). Near the city there is a river, one of the greatest in existence; in the middle of it there is a large island and on it a large castle inhabited by Tālibid 'Alid Muslims, who act as middlemen between the Chinese and the caravans and merchants coming to them. These Muslims come forth to meet them, examine the merchandise and goods, carry them to the Lord of China and come back with their equivalents (14b) when these latter have been established. One after the other the merchants enter the castle with their goods and often remain there for several days. The reason why the said 'Alids are found on the island is that they are a party of Talibids and had come to Khorasan in the days of the Omayyads and settled there. But when they saw how intent the Omayyads were on finding and destroying them, they escaped in safety and started eastwards. They found no foothold in any Islamic country because of fear of pursuit. So they fled to China, and when they reached the banks of the river the patrol, as is the custom, prevented them from crossing, while they had no means of going back. So they said: "Behind us is the sword and before us the sea." The castle on the island was empty of inhabitants because snakes had grown numerous in it and overrun it. So the 'Alids said: "To endure snakes is easier than to endure swords or be drowned." So they entered the castle and began destroying the snakes and throwing them into the water until in a short time they had cleared the castle (of them) and settled there. When the Lord of China learnt that (for him) there was no trouble behind them and that they were forced to seek refuge with him he established them in this place and comforted them by granting them means of existence. So they lived in peace and security, begot children and multiplied. They learned Chinese and the languages of the other peoples who visit them, and became their middlemen.
- 17. The Chinese language is different from other languages and so is the language of Tibet. All Chinese are of one faith which is the faith of Mānī, contrary to the Qitāy and Uyghur among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.

- 18. In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (qaṣaba). When Islam appeared and God delivered the said district to the Muslims, the Chinese migrated to their (original) centres, but there remained in Samarqand, as a vestige of them, the art of making good paper of high quality. And when they migrated to Eastern parts their lands became disjoined and their provinces divided and there was a king in China, and a king in Qitāy, and a king in Yughur with long stretches of territory between these kingdoms.
- 19. He who intends to visit these countries upon commercial or other business travels:

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From Kāshghar to Yārkand in 4 days (15a) thence to Khotan ,, 10 ,, thence to Sājū (Sha-chou) ,, 50 ,,
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There (at Sājū) the roads to China, Qitāy and Yughur part:

A. He who travels to Y.NJŪR, which is the capital of the king of China Tamghāj-khān turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches \*Qām-jū (= Kan-chou), then L.ksīn—in forty days— and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of \*Khocho (spelt Ḥḥw), of which are known Sūlmin (sic) and Chīnānjkath. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njūr in about 40 days.

Beyond China there is a nation known as Sh.rghūl, called by the Chinese S.rgū (\*Sung-kuo), which is at a month's distance from \*Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called Mājīn (\*Māchīn) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahāchīna).

- B. He who intends going to \*Qосно (spelt Fwjw), which is the city of the Yughur-khan, turns away towards the left after Sājū (\*Sha-chou).
- C. He who intends going to  $\overline{U}_{JAM}$  (sic), which is the capital of Qitāy, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

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Khātūn-san (*Khātūn-sīnī) in about 2 months then to Ūtkīn (?) ,, a month then to Ūjam (sic) ,, a month
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The circuit of Ujam is about 2 farsakhs and this mamlaka ("kingdom, territory"?) is surrounded by (a fence of) sticks bent and driven into the ground at both ends, and here, at every two farsakhs, there are stationed guards who keep going on patrol and following footprints, and they kill anyone whom they discover to have gone out without

(lawful) business. And from it (i.e. Ujam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

- 20. The traveller towards \*QITĀY at half a month's distance from Sānjū (\*Sha-chou?) reaches a group of Shārī who are known by the name of a chief of theirs which is Bāsm.l (\*Basmīl). They fled to this place from Islam being afraid of circumcision.
- 21. The kings of Qitāy and Yughur, in spite of the fact that their countries are situated far from the countries of Islam, and that the roads leading to them are cut off, do not feel safe on the side bordering on the kings of Islam and Islamic armies because they have heard of, and witnessed the rise of this faith, its elevation, and the power of its adherents in punishing their enemies. Therefore they protect themselves and their country by closing the road and stationing guards.
- 22. When Sultān Mahmūd, God's mercy on him, succeeded in achieving his might and in conquering the Indian and Turkish lands, the lords of \*Qitāy and Yughur became afraid of him and the lord of \*Qitāy wrote to him a letter (15b) the translation of which is as follows:

"Concerning [the] welfare [of the Khan]. To the amīr of Khorasan Maḥmūd Qarā-khān.  $^1$ 

"The Lord of the Heavens has granted to us (many?) kingdoms upon the face of (this) wide earth and placed us in possession of regions occupied by numerous tribes. In our capital we enjoy security and act according to our will. Anyone in the world who can see and hear cannot help seeking friendship and close relations with us. Our nephews from among the amirs of the nearer regions constantly and without exception send their envoys, and their letters and presents follow upon one another. (Only) he (Mahmūd) until now has sent no envoy or messenger, while we hear of his excellence in strength and courage, of his outstanding position in might and elevation, of his supremacy over the amirs by awe, of his control of the provinces by might and authority and of his peace in his homeland according to his own will. As he enjoys such a glorious position it is a duty for him to write his news to the Supreme Khan than whom there is none higher beneath the heavens, and to treat him with consideration according to his state. So we have taken the initiative, limiting ourselves to the dispatch of this lightly equipped envoy rather than someone who would exceed him in rank and equipage, in view of the greatness of the distance and the length of time (necessary) for covering it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. on this title p. 56.

"And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir-khan through a noble lady¹ from the bosom of my house who became married to his son \*Chaghrī-tegin, and (thus) both houses became united through her, we have ordered Qadir khan to open the road to our envoy to him (i.e. to Maḥmūd) and to his envoy to ourselves, chosen from among men of sound judgment, intelligent and serious, so that we may inform him of how things stand with us, and communicate with him on what there is in the world, while establishing the custom of mutual donations, in friendship with him.

"The object in dispatching this envoy Qalitunkā (\*Qul-Tonga?) is to open the road of union and to fasten the ties of amity."

Of souvenirs the (envoy) carried only:

- 2 suits of khwīdh
- I suit of zhūnkī
- I suit of  $k.nz\bar{i}$
- 2 suits of sh.k.rdi, (each) of 2 pieces
- 15 suits of raw silk, (each) of 2 pieces furs of sable-marten (for) pelisse (\*yāqū)
- 200 sable martens
- 1000 grey squirrels
  - 30 vesicles of musk
    - I bow with IO arrows

This letter was written in the year of the Mouse.

23. The Yughur-khan (too) wrote a letter to (Maḥmūd) and this is its translation:

"Concerning the welfare of ourself, the exalted Ilig Yughur-khan to Sultan Mahmud.

"In spite of the great distance, (we enquire) how he is in his person. We rejoice at what we hear of his welfare and we are gladdened by what we hear about his conquests over the lower countries (down) to the lands of Hind.

"As he is entertaining close relations with the kings of the world, and friendliness with the lords of the outlying regions, our happiness (kingdom?) is inclined toward the friendship of one who belongs to the number of famous champions and celebrated worthies of the world in view of the superiority and heroism (which he manifested) in the Eastern and Western spheres. We ardently desire that love and respect should be established between (us).

"Therefore the present envoy has been dispatched and, though the countries be far apart, our hearts are near to each other. We desire to devote the rest of our life to correspondence and mutual love so

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ al-hurra stands undoubtedly for Turkish khātūn, v.i. Biruni's translation of Qatun-sīnī by magbarat-al hurra.

that a good memory thereof may remain forever. If he wishes what we wish, let him write a letter and dispatch an envoy—to prepare the policy of friendship through him and to strengthen the position by his rank.

"A messenger (slave?) whose name is Q.ltunkā has been sent from \*Qitāy and we have joined with him one of our companions, so that whenever someone is dispatched to ourselves he may be with him. The road of return of the \*Qitāy envoy lies through this region. We have not entrusted any presents to our envoy because there is no safe road, but we have sent a slave and an arrow as a symbol. Qāshī will deliver our message orally. In the fifth month."

- 24. When the two letters were presented to Maḥmūd and he saw what stupidity they contained, moved as he was by his strong belief in Islam, he did not find it possible to grant what was requested with regard to the establishment of sincere relations and correspondence, and he dismissed the envoys, saying to them: "Peace and truce are possible only so far as to prevent war and fighting. There is no faith uniting us that we should be in close relations. Great distance creates security for both of us against any perfidy. I have no need of close relations with you until you accept Islam. And that is all."
- 25. This happened in the year 418 (A.D. 1027), and as regards the expression "Year of the Mouse" mentioned as the date of the letter (it must be known that) the Chinese, the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khotanese possess a cycle of 12 years, on the completion of which they start again from the beginning. These years are called after certain animals whose names differ in the said languages (16b) and they are called:

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the first the year of the Mouse
the second
                            Bull
the third
                            Leopard
the fourth
                            Hare
                            l.bnāt (?) of the Water
the fifth
                      ,,
the sixth
the seventh
                            Horse
                      ,,
the eighth
                            Sheep
                ,,
                      ,,
the ninth
                            Monkey
the tenth
                            Hen
                ,,
                      ,,
the eleventh
                            Dog
the twelfth
                            Hog
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and then it goes back to the Mouse.

26. As regards the road to China by sea, the first sea port on the way to it is called  $L\bar{v}_{Q}\bar{r}R$  (\* $L\bar{u}f\bar{i}n$ , Lung-pien), then the town of

Khān-fū (Canton, spelt Ḥānqū), which is larger than \*Lūfīn. This is a great port with a great river of fresh water which flows through the city and is spanned by bridges. On one of its banks are the markets of foreign merchants and on the other the markets of the natives. The majority of Persian and Arab merchants who travel thither sail on their ships, (the Persians) from Sīrāf and the Arabs from Basra.

In this city (of Canton) the Collector of the king's tithe gathers the goods of the merchants and levies the tithe.

The people of this city are faithful, sure and truthful in speech.

Here Chinese porcelain is produced as well as excellent paper, one side of which is white and the other yellow. Chinese silk of good quality is also produced here.

The people are dressed in caftans. One of their customs is that at daytime each one of the inhabitants of the two markets mixes (freely) with the others carrying on trade and other operations, but at sunset the drum is beaten on both banks and each party retires to its own place. If after that some one of the two parties is found in the market of the other side he is punished and fined. If someone of the Chinese staying in the strangers' market is benighted he must spend the night with them.

No stranger is allowed to take out of the city slaves, either male or female, destined for servitude, but if a merchant has had children by a handmaiden he may export her, and he is not prevented from doing so.

The goods imported to them are elephant's tusks, pepper, assafoetida, glass, lapis lazuli, saffron, steel, tamarisk wood, walnuts, all kinds of dried fruit, such as dates and raisins.

27. Their king is kind to merchants and there is no oppression of anyone who enters his region.

The (Chinese) have all white faces and there are  $(17\,a)$  no black or dusky people among them. They are whiter than the Rūm (Byzantines), of a pure white colour and fine skin.

The king of \*Khan-fu rules on behalf of the king of China, he commands an army and (gives) the battle-orders.

Their custom is to levy from the merchants who come to this city three-tenths of whatever they have with them; of this (tax) one-half goes to the lord of the army and the other is sent to the king of China.

When a ship comes to the gate of this city it is met by the clerks and scribes from among the local population who register the number of whoever there is on board: men, women, children, slaves. Then

the name of the captain is written down together with that of his father, as well as the names of the merchants who accompany him, with the age of each one of them, that is, every man is asked how old he is and whence he comes and from what tribe. Then they write down and register whatever there is on board of goods according to their classes. The most appreciated thing imported to them is the rhinoceros horn, called khutū (spelt khatū), and the Chinese call it bishān (sic). Having registered all the cargo of the ship they allow (the sailors) to land and, as soon as they are settled at an inn, they are visited by a eunuch clerk who takes them to the master of the town. Whoever has cleaner and better garments is more respected by them. Then the king enquires about their personal health and how they fared on their voyage, after which he sends them to the house of the eunuch clerk situated outside the town. When they have entered it, seats (kursī) are brought to them and they sit on them. Then they are asked about their health and (the eunuch) shows them signs of respect and serves them local fruit and wine. Then he tells them to adjourn to their inn and tells his representatives to look after and care for them. They call the representative fāsām (\*fan-chang).

Then the goods which form the cargo are taken out and placed in (store) houses which are sealed by the clerks, and their sale or purchase is prohibited for the term of six months, till the end of the period of the monsoon ( $al-r\bar{\iota}h$ , "wind"). When they have learned that the arrival of ships has stopped and the time has come when no one arrives, they remit the goods to the merchants after having levied the custom fee, which amounts to 30 per cent. ("three out of ten"), and they sell as they wish. The object of this prohibition of trade during six months is that all the import cargoes should have arrived (17b) and the price of them have been stabilized lest the buyer or seller should (suffer) because of low prices or sustain a loss. It often happens that the amount of goods in a year increases and the market is spoilt, or the amount dwindles and the prices rise. They purchase all with money with which they pay for all goods.

28. All the Chinese are assessed to a poll-tax, with the exception of women and children. When a child is born to them the time of his birth at night or day time is recorded and the document is placed with his father, or his relatives, so that they should not be mistaken about his age. When he has reached the age of manhood he is assessed to the poll-tax, and never do records fail to go to the king of the men who live in his kingdom and of those who have died. The dead are buried only in the year, month, day and hour in which

they were born.¹ If a man has died among his people and in his house, he is kept in a wooden trough (naqīr), which has the shape of a coffin. Some drugs are strewn over him which preserve his body from evil smells and decay. Thus, if he was well-off. And if he was poor, some burnt shells are strewn over him after they have been heated and reduced to powder. They absorb his humours and his remains no longer smell. This trough in which they place dead men may remain in the earth one thousand years or more, and it hardly gives off any smell.

If a man dies, a period of three years' mourning is imposed on his wife, as well as on her son and her (sic) brother. If a wife dies, a similar period of mourning is imposed on the husband. Men and women weep over their dead at the beginning of the day, in the middle of the day and at the end of the day, so long as the dead body remains with them. If one of them or their relatives does not weep he is punished and beaten and people will say: "Thou hast killed him if his death does not grieve thee." When the time for burying him has arrived and they are about to carry him to the grave, if he was well-off, they put food, fruit and wine on the road from his house to the cemetery, and wrap them up in brocades and silks. After he has been put in the grave these dishes are ransacked (by the crowd). And sometimes, if the deceased was a rich person, his beasts and clothes without exception are carried with him to his place of burial and there looted (fa-yumazzaqu). If a Muslim dies in their country and has no heir, his property is taken and placed in the king's treasury and an inscription is put up over it recording the names of the person, his father and grandfather, and the date of his death. And they wait three years and three months and three days and, if his successor comes before the expiration of the term, the property is handed over to him.

The Chinese know each other's age without mistake because all of them record (?) it in writing. Should someone die and leave a child without a tutor, the child is entrusted to the king's clerks for teaching and education and the treasury provides his sustenance. When finally he has reached maturity he is assessed to the poll-tax. When an old man has reached the age of eighty, or even seventy, the king's treasury pays him an allowance and even though he has committed a fault punishable with death or a fine, he is pardoned. If there is an enmity between a man and a woman they are more disposed towards the woman. Their women outdo men in crafts and commerce. They do not cover their hair. A married person

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  I.e. apparently a person born in the year of the Mouse (v.s. §25) was to be buried in the same year of the animal cycle.

who has committed adultery is killed, be it a man or a woman, but the mourning is not remitted thereby. In their markets there are women practising fornication, and the government levies a tax on them. However, these are recruited from among the low and vile.

All this in the city of Sānjū (read: Khān-fū, Canton?), which is a great city.

- 29. The great city in which the king of China lives is called KHUMDĀN, and it is said that from the city of Chīnānikath to Khumdan there is a distance of four months through pasture lands.
- 30. The country of China is vast. The majority of its inhabitants have round faces and flattened noses, their clothes are of silk and brocade. All wear wide sleeves and long skirts trailing on the ground. Their homes are spacious and embellished with porticos (majālis) and statues. Their army is numerous. Their king is almost invisible and only his vazir or chamberlain attends on him. The heads of his army see him once a week. If an envoy from a king visits him he is introduced into his presence at a specially appointed time. (At the audience) the vazir stands on (the king's) right,<sup>2</sup> and the envoy is kept at a distance in accordance with the rank of (him who) sent him. Then he prostrates himself and does not raise his head until ordered (to do) so. Then the chamberlain addresses him and he informs him about himself and of the object of his mission. Then the king orders him to be given presents consisting of a cut (takht) of textile3 and of a gilt silver bowl. The envoy returns to the envoys' house and appears daily at the court (18b) and gradually approaches (the object) until the answer is given and he is dismissed.
- 31. Most of their crops are cereals. Whenever the rains have been scanty, prices rise, and when the inhabitants have suffered from scarcity the king sends (his men) to the idol-temples to seize the shamans, to imprison them, to put them in irons and to threaten them with death if it does not rain, and they keep using them roughly till it does rain.
- 32. In the king's palace there are numerous kettle-drums and drums, and when the sun is about to set the kettle-drums are beaten. When the inhabitants hear it everyone hastens and hurries towards his house. No one remains outside after sunset. The Government agents disperse themselves in the town-wards and on the highways and, if they find anyone out of his house, they behead him and

V. i., this sentence repeated in §39.
 Gardizi: "one vazir on the right and another on the left."
 Gardizi, 93: takhtī dībā.

throw his head into a place specially prepared, over which there is an inscription: "This is the punishment of him who has disobeyed the order of the Government." And one of their laws is that he that has stolen (the value of) more than 100 small coins, i.e. 10 dirhams, shall be killed and shall on no account be spared.

- 33. In the environs of Khumdān, which is the capital of the king surnamed Faghfūr, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks (murattaba). The city has four gates, and when the king mounts 30,000 horse mount with him. It is said that the king of China possesses 360 towns, and daily one of them send him its kharāj, together with garments for his personal wear and with a handmaiden to please him. One of their customs is that no one is allowed to monopolise wheat, wood, salt or iron, but these commodities are exposed in the markets and may be bought according to one's needs. In the environs of Khumdān are lakes with islands, and towns paying kharāj.
- 34. The coast of China stretches for two months and, as on a day when there is a fair wind the mariners are able to sail a distance of 50 farsakhs, the extension of the coast is 3000 farsakhs along the sea-shore.
- 35. To the left of China towards the summer sunrise (N.E.), between China and the Khirkhiz, there is a numerous population. They are tribes with names such as Abrmr, Ḥwrnyr, Tūlmān, F.rāhnklī, Yāthī, Ḥynāthī, Būbūʻnī, B.nkūy, Fūrī.¹ They make (19a) ornaments for their women out of white shells (wad', "cowrie"), which they use instead of pearls.
- 36. The author of the book *al-Masālik* says that beyond China there is a nation of white-and-pink complexion (*shuqr*) and red hair. The heat of the sun is extreme in their country and they live in underground dwellings which they have built themselves. When the sun rises they enter these dwellings until the sun is about to set and then they come out. However, this record needs (further) consideration because a white-and-pink complexion and red hair are produced by the excess of cold and deficiency of heat, as in the case of the Slavs and the Rūs.
- 37. One of the customs of the Chinese is that, when a man has committed a crime which deserves a fine and punishment, he cannot be prosecuted before he has confessed and signed (?) a document to this effect. Then this document is presented to the king's clerks and the king orders a punishment appropriate to his crime. And

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The transcription of these names, which are undotted in the original, is purely conventional and cannot be relied upon. See the Commentary.

similarly, when he has committed a crime punishable by death, they do not kill him before he has signed a document saying that he has indeed merited execution. This document is read to him publicly that he may agree with it. Then (the judges) suspend the procedure during several hours in order to see whether they have any doubt about the criminal's mind. And only having agreed as to the soundness of his mind do they kill him.

- 38. One of their customs is that, when someone is leaving the country for a journey, they register his name and the goods and slaves he is taking with him. At every military post where he arrives the document is read and the officer in command reports to the eunuch, who is the king's clerk, that so-and-so, son of so-and-so, safely passed here on such a day and such a month, with his goods and slaves. They do it to protect people's property. He who left their country without the king's permission and was caught is arrested, imprisoned and fined. In some of their lands, when a stranger who has bought a handmaiden and begotten a child by her wants to take her away with him, he is prevented from so doing, for they say: "Why hast thou sown in our soil? Who allowed thee to do so? Now take the crop, i.e. the child, and leave the soil."
- 39. They take pride in elegance of dress, in the perfect state of their houses and in the number of (their) vases. Their homes are spacious and adorned with porticos, statues and painting (v.s. §30). Their avenues are overshadowed (mughatṭāt?) by temples built of cypress wood, as are also most of their markets, and every day several times they are levelled¹ and besprinkled. They build (19b) the thresholds of their houses high in order that no litter may fall out of their dwellings.
- 40. Whenever the king wants to enter his women's apartments and to remain alone with the women the astrologer goes up to the roof of the house where he is and observes the stars in order to choose the time propitious for his intercourse with some one of his women.
- 41. At the farthest end of the Chinese territory lies the land called Sīlā (Silla, Shin-lo, Corea). Whoever Muslim or other stranger enters it, settles in it and never leaves it, on account of its pleasantness and excellence. Much gold is found there.

The territories of China lie between the Ocean, the Toghuzghuz territories, Tibet and the Persian Gulf (sic).

42. TIBET is a country situated between China, India, the country of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz and the sea of Fārs.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly \*tuknasu "are swept."

Some of it lies in the kingdom of China and some in the kingdom of India. The inhabitants resemble those of China, Turkish (lands) and India. Tibet has an independent king and its language differs from other languages. A particular feature of their country is that whoever enters it and settles in it becomes ever gay and smiling without knowing the reason for it, and never a sad (face) is seen in it.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called Arā,¹who live in a land and place called in Tibetan Akhāy.l, which possesses thick woods, meadows and pastures. They are of the king's people. When the Tibetkhāqān dies childless and there is no one else in the khāqān's family, a man from among them is elected and made khāqān. As regards the place called Bāb al-Tubbatayn ("the Gate of the two Tibets"), it is a gate between the mountain Shīwa and the river Kh.rnāb, fixed on a weak wall built of thorns and earth, and the Tibetans have there a military post where toll is levied from anyone travelling that way, to the amount of one part out of forty.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called ANK-R.NK (lower: Rānk-R.nk). These are a poor and weak people (but) they possess gold and silver mines, some of which are in the mountains, and some under the ground. In those which lie in the mountains large nuggets are found like heads of rams and kids, but they do not fetch any of it, saying that, if anyone takes it, death strikes his house and goes on until he (20 a) has replaced the nugget in its place in the mountains, and only then does death leave him alone. The part of these minerals from which they profit is what they get out of the ground.<sup>2</sup> With that they pay their kharāj, which is assessed per head.

Above Rāng-r.nk (sic) there is another tribe of Tibetans resembling Turks. They possess cattle and tents and from their place to the frontier (?) of the Tibet-khāqān there is a distance of 20 days. Here lies a place called Zāb, where a huge river is found, one of whose banks, namely, the eastern one, forms the frontier of China, while the western side is the frontier of Tibet. Chinese merchants bring their goods to the bank of this river and pass over to the other bank in boats which they build of timber and skins. They trade with Tibetans and return on the same day.

43. Tibetan musk is of the best quality and of the purest scent. Musk is the navel of an animal which resembles the largest (kind of) deer. At a certain season of the year the animal becomes agitated and black blood flowing from other parts of the body gathers in its navel. The tumour swells and pains in the head and in the whole

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Apparently \*Akhā. The following name is Akhā-yul "the country of A." <sup>2</sup> Yaltaqiṭūna, "they pick up," but the meaning must be "which they extract."

of the body increase. The animal comes to certain places in the desert where it is wont to roll and does not graze or drink until from the plentifulness of blood its swollen navel becomes detached (falls) and sometimes its horns as well. Some of the animals die there, but some survive and return to the pastures. The navels accumulate on the said rolling-grounds, and, after some years, the blood coagulates, dries up and turns to musk. At the season of the rains Tibetan youths start towards those deserts and often discover rolling-grounds with thousands of (fallen) vesicles and collect what is good of them. But often their endeavours are foiled.

### CHAPTER IX

### OF THE TURKS

- I. The Turks are a great people and consist of many kinds and varieties, many tribes and sub-tribes. Some of them dwell in towns and villages, and some of them in wastes and deserts.
- 2. Of their great tribes are the Ghuzz, who comprehend twelve tribes, and of these some are called \*Toghuzghuz, some Uy-ghur, and some Uch-ghur (?). Their king is called Toghuz-khaqan, and he has numerous armies. In ancient times their king had 1000 life-guards (shākiri) and 400 female servants; with him ('inda-hu) the life-guards used to eat food three times a day, and after eating, were served with drink three times. Their king only presents himself to the people once in a season (?). They have good customs in government. Some of them live in wastes and deserts, having tents and yurtas (felt-huts, khargāh); their wastes march with Transoxiana and partly also with the territories of Khwārazm.

When they came into contact with Muslim countries some of them embraced Islam; these were called Türkmäns. Open war broke out between them and the others who had not accepted the faith, but in the end the Muslims became numerous, made an excellent profession, and overwhelmed the infidels and drove them out. The latter quitted Khwārazm and migrated to the regions of the Bajanāk (Pechenegs). The Türkmäns spread through the Islamic lands and there displayed an excellent character, so much so that they ruled over the greater part of these territories, becoming kings and sultans.

3. To them (also) belong the Qūn; these came from the land of Qitāy, fearing the Qitā-khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians, and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures.

Of their numbers [is? or was?] \*Äkinji b. \*Qochqar (?) the Khwārazmshāh. The Qūn were followed [or pursued] by a people called the Qāy, who being more numerous and stronger than they drove them out of these [new?] pasture-lands. They then moved on to the territory of the Shārī, and the Shārī migrated to the land of the Türkmäns, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the Ghuzz country. The Ghuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the Bajānak, near the shores of the Armenian (?) sea.

- 4. To them (also) belong the Кніккніг, a numerous people dwelling between the summer east [=N.E.] and the north; the Kimāk live to the north, the Yaghmā and the Kharlukh to the west of them, while Kucha  $(K.j\bar{a})$  and Ark [with regard to them] lie between the winter west and the south. The Khirkhiz make a practice of burning their dead, asserting that fire purified and cleansed them: that was their ancient use, but when they became neighbours with Muslims, they began burying their dead. Among the Khirkhīz is a man, a commoner, called faghīnūn, who is summoned on a fixed day every year; about him there gather singers and players and so forth. who begin drinking and feasting. When the company is well away, this man faints and falls as if in a fit; he is asked about all the events that are going to happen (21 a) in the coming year, and he gives information whether [crops] will be plentiful or scarce, whether there will be rain or drought, and so forth; and they believe that what he says is true.
- 5. In the territory of the Khirkhīz there are four watercourses which flow and pour into a single great watercourse running between mountains and dark caverns. It is related that a certain man of the Khirkhiz took a boat and sailed along this watercourse for three days, in darkness, during which time he saw neither sun nor star nor light of any kind. Then he emerged into light and open air and left his boat. Hearing the sound of the hoofs of beasts, he climbed into a tree to watch; three horsemen came along, each as tall as a long spear, and with them were dogs the size of oxen. When they came up to him and saw him they took pity on him, and one of them fetched him down [from the tree] and mounted him on his beast. hiding him from the dogs for fear that they should tear him to They took him to their encampment, set him on top of a tent, and gave him their food to eat, marvelling at him, as if they had never seen his like before. Then one of them carried him and brought him near his own place, guiding him on the road until he arrived there. No one knows who these people were or to what race of mankind they belonged.

5 bis (= 5 in Chap. XV). As for the farthest parts of the territories of the Turks there are between Uj and  $K\bar{a}shghar$  meadows and steppes wherein are wild camels and various species of wild beasts; there are likewise wild men who have no intercourse with [other] men.<sup>1</sup>

5 ter (= 6 in Chap. XV). On this side  $(d\bar{u}n)$  of the Khirkhīz, in the direction of Chinanjkath, there are thickets and forests, overgrown and impenetrable, tangled places, abundant water, and valleys in close succession to one another where rain is continuous. In these forests there dwells a wild people; they have no intercourse with other men, and do not understand their language; they are like yild beasts, and (only) associate with their own kind. The boats which they employ for the transport of their loads consist of the skins of fish and wild animals. (43a) Whenever they emerge from these forests they are like fish out of water. They have wooden bows, and their clothes are of the skins of wild beasts; their food they get by hunting. They are warriors and fighters; when they intend to attack any enemy they go out with their families on foot (seeking to) compute their enemy's numbers; having ascertained this, they set upon them by night, destroying and annihilating them. Whatever falls into their hands and whatever they seize they set fire to and burn, for they do not hold it to be lawful to take the possessions of others, with the exception of weapons and iron. When they desire to have intercourse with their wives, they make them go on all fours, and then have coition after the manner of wild beasts and animals. Their wives' dowries consist of animals and wild beasts. When any one of them dies, his corpse is bound up with ropes and suspended in trees, and there left to rot. Now and then one of them visits a Khirkhīz in search of food; if his quest is granted by the Khirkhiz and he is hospitably received (all is well); otherwise he leaps upon (the Khirkhīz) and slays him, and then flees back to his meadow.

6. To them also belong the Kharlukh. These formerly dwelt in the mountain of Tūnis (\*Tūlis), which is the Golden mountain, and were the slaves of the Toghuzghuz; [later] they rebelled against them, and migrated to the land of the T.RK.S (\*Türgish), which they seized and conquered and usurped the kingdom (or: subjected the king). From thence they moved on to Islamic territories. Of the Kharlukh there are nine divisions, of which three are of the Chigil, three of the B.gh.sk.l, and one each of the B.lāq, Kūk.rkīn (Kūdārkin?) and Tukhsī.

<sup>1</sup> See also Chapter XV, §21.

- 7. To them also belong the Kimāk, a people without villages or houses, who possess forests, woods, water, and herbage; they have cattle and sheep in plenty, but no camels, for camels will not live in their country more than a year. They also have no salt. except what may be imported by merchants, who for a maund of it obtain a fox and sable skin. In the summer they live on the milk of mares. in winter on jerked meat. Snow is plentiful there, and even falls to a depth of a spear-shaft. When the snow falls as heavily as that. the Kimāks transfer their beasts to the Ghuzz country, if there is peace between them. The Kimāk possess underground dwellings (asrāb) which they prepare for winter and in them they live when the cold is severe. If any of them wishes to go out to hunt the sable (samūr) or the ermine (qāqum) or suchlike, he takes two pieces of wood, each three cubits long and a span wide, with one of the ends turned up like the prow of a ship, and binds them with his boots on to his feet. In these he treads, rolling across the snow like a ship cleaving the waves.
- 8. To the right (South?) of these Kimāks are three peoples who worship Fire and Waters. They trade with foreigners, employing signs, without any vocal conversation passing between them. The foreigner brings his merchandise on a wooden [plank] and then a Kimak comes and puts down opposite it his equivalent. If the owner of the merchandise is satisfied, he takes the equivalent and throws the goods off the plank; if, however, he is not satisfied, he leaves the goods there. They are particularly fond of copper (shabah) bowls and red leather bags (jurab). They fast one day every year, burn their dead, and do not mourn for them, saying: "We acquiesce in God's decree."
- 8 bis (= 15 in Chap. XV). It is related in the book al-Masālik wal-Mamālik that there is a certain people who come in boats from a westerly direction (nāḥiyaṭ al-gharb) to the Kimāk and trade with them by signs, putting their wares on a plank of wood until they come to terms. They (?) are fond of copper bowls of which they make ornaments for their womenfolk. (While bargaining) they do not speak (44a-b).
- 9. Towards the *qibla* of the Kimāk is a people called the B.srī (?)<sup>1</sup>; they have an independent chieftain, they live in woods and forests winter and summer.
- IO. The PECHENEGS (Bajanāk) are a wandering people, following the rainfalls and pasturage. Their territory extends a distance of thirty days in either direction, and they are bordered on all sides

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The transcription is purely tentative!

by many peoples; to the north are the Khifjākh, to the south-west (al-janūb fil-maghrib) the Khazar, to the east (min nāḥiyat al-sharq?) the Ghuzz, and to the west the Slavs. These peoples all raid the Pechenegs, who [likewise] raid them. The Pechenegs are wealthy, having beasts, flocks, household property, gold, silver, weapons, ensigns, and lances (tarādāt). Between the Pechenegs and the Khazar there is a distance of ten days, the country being steppes and forest. There is no beaten track between the two territories, and they travel over (the distance) by means of the stars, landmarks or at random.

- II. The territories of the Khazar are wide, reaching on one side to a great mountain-(range). At the furthest end of this mountain there dwell two divisions of the Turks, called the Tūlās and the Lw'r.¹ This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflīs. Their city is called  $S\bar{a}r's^1$  (\* $S\bar{a}righ\text{-}sh.n$ ?) and they have another city called Kh.tbaligh¹ (sic) (\*Kh.nbaligh, etc.?); in these two cities they dwell during the winter, but with the approach of spring they go out into the deserts ( $sah\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ ), where they spend all the summer. Their king rides at the head of 10,000 horsemen wherever he goes. It is their custom, when going forth in any direction, that every horseman carries with him twenty tamarisk pegs two cubits ( $dhir\bar{a}$ ) long. When they come to their encampment, they all plant their pegs in the ground surrounding the site, and lean their bucklers against them: in this way in less than an hour round the encampment a wall is made which cannot be pierced.
- 12. To them (also) belong the B.Rdās, whose territory is part of the Khazar territory, there being a distance of 15 days between the two tribes. They obey the Khazar king, and supply 10,000 horsemen. They have no chieftain to rule and govern them, but at every place they have an elder to whom they refer their disputes as they arise. Their territory is wide, and contains forests. They raid the B.lkār and Pechenegs. They are handsome and comely and have a [fine] physique. Among them when a girl reaches puberty she leaves the authority of her father, and chooses whom she wants among the men, until finally a suitor (khātib) comes for her to her father and the latter, if he wishes, gives her away [to the man]. They have swine and oxen as well as abundance of honey; their [chief] property is the fur of weasels (? dalaq)². They consist of two groups, one group burning and the other burying their dead. Their land is flat, their trees are mostly the khalanj, and they have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On the names, see the Commentary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Probably the animal called in Russian KVHMIA.

tilled lands. The extent of their land is 17 days in either direction; they have no fruits, and they make a drink from honey.

12 bis (= 2 in Chap. XV). In the northern direction lies the country of Bulghār¹; it lies between the west (?) and the north, inclining towards the Pole, and is three months distant from Khwārazm. These (people) have two cities, one called Suvār and the other called Bulghār; between the two cities is a distance of two days' journey, along the bank of a river and through very dense forests, in which they fortify themselves against their enemies. The trees are mostly khadang, but there are also hazels. They are Muslims, and make war on the infidel Turks, raiding them, because they are surrounded by infidels. There are in their forests furbearing animals, such as grey squirrels, sable, and so on. The latitude of their territory is very considerable (wa 'ardu ardihim kathūrun), so much so that in summer their day is extremely long and their night extremely short, so short in fact that the interval between twilight and dawn is not sufficient for cooking a pot (of meat).

§12 ter (= 3 in Chap. XV). At a distance of twenty days from them, towards the Pole, is a land called Isū, and beyond this a people called Yūra; these are a savage people, living in forests and not mixing with other men, for they fear that they may be harmed by them. The people of Bulghar journey to them, taking wares, such as clothes, salt and other things, in contrivances (lit. 'utensils'') drawn by dogs over the heaped snows, which (never) clear away. It is impossible for a man to go over these snows, unless he binds on to his feet the thigh-bones of oxen, and takes in his hands a pair of iavelins which he thrusts backwards into the snow, so that his feet slide forwards over the surface of the ice; with a favourable wind (?) he will travel a great distance by the day. The people of Yūra trade by means of signs and dumb show, for they are wild and afraid of (other) men. From them are imported excellent sable and other fine furs; they hunt these animals, feeding on their flesh and wearing their skins.

§12 quater (= 4 in Chap. XV). Beyond these are a Coast-dwelling people who travel far over the sea, without any (definite) purpose and intention; they merely do this in order to boast of reaching (such and such a remote) locality. They are a most ignorant and stupid tribe, and their ignorance is shown by the following. They sail in ships, and whenever two (of their) boats meet, the sailors lash the two together, and then they draw their swords and fight. This is their form of greeting. They come from the same town, perhaps from the same quarter, and there is no kind of enmity or rivalry

between them; it is merely that this is their custom. When one of the parties is victorious, they (then) steer the two ships off together. In this sea is the fish whose tooth is used in hafting knives, swords and suchlike. Beyond them is a Black Land which cannot be crossed. As for the sea-route, the voyager sailing towards the Pole reaches a part where there is no night in the summer and no day in the winter; the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months, circling the horizon like the revolution of a mill-stone; the whole year thus consists of one day and one night.

- 13. The Majgharī are a Turkish people having wide territories reaching a distance of 100 farsakhs in either direction. Their chieftain rides at the head of about 20,000 horsemen, and is called \*k.nda, this name being the distinction of their king. They are a tent-dwelling people, and migrate following the herbage  $(kal\bar{a})$  and vegetation. One border of their territory reaches the Sea of  $R\bar{\nu}_{\rm M}$ , and there are found here  $(wa\ hun\bar{a}ka)$  two rivers which flow into that sea, one of them being bigger than the Oxus  $(Jayh\bar{u}n)$ . The habitations of the Majgharī lie between these two rivers, whose names are the  $R\bar{u}n\bar{u}$  ( $R\bar{u}t\bar{u}$ ?) and the Atil. Their territories abound in forests, and they also have sown fields. They overcome those of the Slavs and  $R\bar{u}s$  who are their neighbours, carrying off captives whom they sell in  $R\bar{u}m$ . The Majgharī are handsome and very comely  $(riw\bar{u})$  wa manzar hasan), their bodies are bulky, and they have wealth and visible property on account of their great commerce.
- 14. The SLAVS are a numerous people, and between their territories and the territories of the Pechenegs is a distance of 10 days, along steppes and pathless country with thick trees (ashjār multaffa) and [abounding] in springs. They inhabit these forests. They have no vines, but possess much honey. They tend swine, and burn their dead, for they worship Fire. They grow mostly millet, and have a drink prepared from honey. They have different kinds of pipes (mazāmīr), including one two cubits long. Their lute is flat and has eight strings but no peg-box (bunjuq), while (illā anna) its pegs are level. They have no great wealth (laysa lahum sa'at fil-ma'īsha). Their weapons are javelins and spears, and they have fine bucklers. Their head chieftain is called suwīt,¹ and he has a deputy called sh.rīḥ.¹ The king has [riding] beasts and on their milk he feeds. The town in which he resides is called Kh.zh.rāt., where they hold a market for three days in every month. Among them the cold is so severe that they dig deep underground dwellings which they cover with wood, and heat with the steam [produced by the burning] of dung and firewood. There they remain during their winter season.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the Commentary.

In the winter the Majghari raid them, and as a result of their mutual raidings they have many slaves.

15. The Rūs live in an island in the sea, its extent being a distance of three days in either direction. It has woods and forests, and is surrounded by a lake.1 They are very numerous, and look to the sword to provide them with a livelihood and profession (al-ma'āsh wal-kasb). When one of their menfolk dies, leaving daughters and sons, they hand his property over to the daughters, giving the sons only a sword, for they say, "Your father won his property by the sword; do you imitate him and follow him in this."

And in this way their education (nushu') was effected, until they became Christians, during the year 300. When they entered [the fold of Christianity, the faith blunted their swords, the door of their livelihood was closed to them, they returned to hardship and poverty, and their livelihood shrank. Then they desired to become Muslims, that it might be lawful for them to make raids and holy war, and so make a living by returning to some of their former practices. They therefore sent messengers to the ruler Khwārazm, four kinsmen of their king; for they had an independent king called VLADIMIR (V.lādmīr), just as the king of the Turks is called khāqān and the king of the Bulghars b.t.lṭū. Their messengers came to Khwārazm and delivered their message. The Khwārazmshāh was delighted at their eagerness to become Muslims, and sent someone to them to teach them the religious laws of Islam. they were converted.

They are strong and powerful men, and go on foot into far regions in order to raid; they also sail in boats (fī sufun) on the Khazar sea, seizing ships and plundering goods. They sail to Constantinople in the sea of Pontus, in spite of the chains in the gulf.2 Once they sailed into the sea of Khazar and became masters of Barda'a for a time. Their valour and courage are well known, so that any one of them is equal to a number of any other nation. If they had horses and were riders, they would be a great scourge to mankind.

- 16. We have mentioned various kinds of Turks and their affairs so far as anything is known of them and the news has been propagated, but without going into the matter at any length because their various kinds and classes, their life, habits and customs are more than it is possible to mention or to describe.
- 17. HIPPOCRATES and GALEN have much to say about them (i.e. the Turks) and we desire to report some of their sayings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Or perhaps; "and in the neighbourhood (of the woods) there is a lake" (?).

<sup>2</sup> Khalīj may apply to the Straits as well but here the reference is apparently to the Golden Horn.

Hippocrates says that in the country of Europe there is a tribe of Turks and that the Turks resemble one another, but do not resemble other peoples. Likewise the Egyptians resemble one another, except that they grow up in the heat, and the Turks in the cold.

Galen says that the people called  $S\bar{u}RM\bar{a}TA$  (Sauromatae) have small eyes and long eye-slits (tiwāl al-alḥāz).

Hippocrates says that Turkish food and customs are similar (everywhere). Therefore they grew similar in their persons, and distinct from other peoples. And indeed they do not resemble them either in their features or in their habits. He adds: on this account their features have grown thick and fleshy so that their joints do not appear, and their bodies are soft and damp (lymphatic), with no strength.

Galen says: Turkish lands are cold and damp with plenty of water, steppes [23b] and mines. The Turks are care-free and have no exacting occupations. He adds: their joints do not appear, i.e. their joints are hidden and invisible on account of the abundance of flesh, for damp (lymphatic) constitutions engender much flesh which is damp, cold, fat and weak. Therefore Turkish constitutions have become damp and cold.

18. Hippocrates says: their intestines are very damp and secrete much discharge. This, because it is impossible for intestines to grow dry, as happens in such a country and in such natural and climatic conditions, as ours. He adds: their bodies are very obese and necessarily (?) hairless. He adds: such conditions are not favourable for having many children for libido does not incite men towards women and coition in view of the dampness of their constitutions and of the softness and coldness of their intestines. At another place he says that the child-bearing of their women is infrequent on account of the softness and dampness of their entrails. As regards the dampness (it is explained by the following facts); (1) their wombs cannot catch and attract the sperm; (2) the purifications which affect the women every month do not occur as they ought to because their purifications become little (and) take place after long periods; (3) the mouths of their wombs are obstructed by the abundance of fat; (4) as all their bodies grow fat, cervices uterorum earum necessarily also grow fat. Whereas thin and lank limbs have the passages open and the openings broad, fat limbs have narrow openings; therefore (Turkish women) do not conceive often.

Galen says that the fact that they conceive seldom is the result of several causes, such as the narrowness of their cervices, the fact that they are not properly purified every month, the fact that the attractive force inherent in the wombs is weakened by the cold and dampness found (in their bodies), so that the sperm, not being caught rapidly, becomes corrupted on account of its lightness and dampness before it has reached its destination.

At another place Galen says that Turkish women do not conceive often because they are care-free and tranquil; as to their handmaidens and slaves, by dint of their movements and activities their bodies are shaken and discharge the excess of dampness contained in them. Consequently, their wombs dry up, they conceive rapidly and their children become many [24a].

19. Hippocrates says that many Turks, on account of what we have related about them, become like eunuchs, grow impotent with their women, do women's work and talk like women. Indeed, what he says is found and attested in the inhabitants of some of the Turkish lands, but those who live in deserts and steppes and lead a nomadic life in winter and summer, are the strongest of men and most enduring in battle and warfare. There are two classes of them: (1) those who possess chiefs and kings whom they obey and with whose decisions and orders they comply, and (2) those who owe allegiance to no one but themselves and over whom no one rules; these are the strongest and the most energetic and courageous.

Hippocrates says that in Asia there are people who owe allegiance to nobody and over whom no one else rules, such as the Ionians and Turks. They are free men who govern themselves and let no one else govern them. What they do and gain they do for themselves, not for anybody else. These are the most courageous, vehement and warlike and, thanks to their (common) perseverance in war against those who fight them, they take booty in equal parts (?).

20. Galen says that their women fight like men and that they cut off one of their breasts so that their entire strength should go into their arms, and their bodies grow slim (enabling them) to jump on to the backs of the horses.

Hippocrates has mentioned these women in some of his works. He calls them Amāzūnas, which means "those who possess but one breast," for they cut off the other and they are only prevented from cutting off the (remaining) breast by the necessity of feeding their children for the perpetuation of their race. (The reason why) they cut off one breast is in order that it may not hamper them in shooting arrows on horseback.

21. As to the class which has kings and chiefs, there are numerous tribes of them, namely, those which we have previously mentioned.

### CHAPTER XII

### ON INDIA

- (32a) I. The Indians are a great nation comprising numerous races (castes?) of various kinds and of widely different views and religions. They inhabit the southern quarter of the oecumene. Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they are down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end.
  - 2. Their known races (castes) are seven, namely:

The Shākbīriya (\*chakravartiya?), who in their caste are the noblest, and all the castes prostrate themselves before them, while they do not do so before anyone. The king belongs to them.

- 3. Then the Brahmans, who have the leadership under the king. They prostrate themselves before the Sumani, but the latter do not do so before them. Some of those who belong to this caste do not drink wine or intoxicating drinks.
- 4. The \*Kishtariya (kshatriya), who do not drink more than thrice (at a time). The Brahmans do not give (their own women) in marriage to them but marry theirs.
- 5. Then the Shudriya (śūdra), who are agriculturists and husbandmen. The Kshatriyas marry their (women) and give them theirs, while the Brahmans marry theirs but do not give them (their own).
- 6. Then the Bayshiya (vaisya), in whose caste are craftsmen and tradesmen. None of the enumerated castes intermarries with them.
- 7. Then the Sandaliya (candāla), singers and players. Their women are beautiful and sometimes Brahmans become infatuated with them so as to abandon for them their religion (but otherwise) none of the castes mentioned touches them.
- 8. Then the Dunbiya (domba), who have a dark complexion<sup>2</sup> and are performers and musicians. People treat them as candalas, but the latter do not mix or intermarry with them.
- 9. Among their arts and sciences is magic. They pretend that by this means they obtain what they want, heal poisonings while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Shamani, "Buddhists"?

<sup>2</sup> I. Kh., 71, also has sumr, cf. infra §47, but another possible reading is qaum samar, "entertainers."

they remove the poison from the one who has drunk it, or subject another person to it.

- ro. Here belongs telepathy (lit. "imagination and thought"), and people (?) pretend that by this means they work wonders. By it they operate on the absent, while they bind and unbind things, both harmful and beneficial. Here also belong sorcery (\*nīrang), suggestion and the production of phantoms (?), which bewilder the sage and baffle the mind of the expert.
- II. Here too belong the *sīmābandāt* (?), i.e. wonderful talismans which they produce and invent, as well as their claims to stop rain and hail, and the fact (is) that those who are in India acknowledge their (proficiency) in this science by giving to the masters in it definite yearly rewards.
- 12. Here too belongs medicine, in which they claim wonderful achievements in preserving health, putting off senility, increasing strength and intelligence, and healing inveterate and refractory ailments.
- 13. Here too belong arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and the skill of the Indians in these sciences.
- 14. Here too belongs the science of singing and the construction of various musical instruments and the science of dancing in which no one attains to their standards.
- 15. Here too belong their military science, different formations (of troops), various arms and swords, the quality of which is proverbial, multifarious drums, fifes, trumpets, tuned to the voices of elephants, lions, tigers, and other instruments, the sound of which daunts the heart of men.
- 16. And among this race is a people living in the neighbourhood of Mount AL-Dābir (?)¹ in the eastern part of India, in the land called Qāmūr (\*Qāmrūp, Kāmarūpa, Assam), who possesses more beauty than any other nation.
- 17. There are 99 creeds (milal) and sects found among the enumerated castes which are grouped under 42 religions. Of the latter some recognise the Creator and believe in prophets ( $anbiy\bar{a}$ ), but others, though confirming the existence of a Creator, reject (God's) apostles (rusul)<sup>2</sup> and prophets; others again reject both a Creator and apostles and some reject everything but confirm the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dānir, Dāyir, Dāhir?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the author's idea the gods Vishnu and Shiva are "envoys" of the invisible God. To preserve this special point of view and the etymology of rasūl (from  $arsala = aroo \tau \epsilon(\lambda \omega)$ ) we have rendered the term conventionally as "apostle."

- truth (of) Retribution and Punishment, and these are the Shamans (Buddhists).
- 18. There are some who say that Retribution and Punishment consist in rebirth in happiness or in misfortune, and that Paradise and the Fire are apportioned to one's actions and are not lasting.

# [Division A]

- 19. Among those who believe in the Creator are the Brahmans, who pretend that God's apostle unto them was an angel called Bāsdīw (Vāsudeva). He came to them in human shape as an envoy (of God) but without a Book. He has four hands; in one of them he holds a bare sword; in another a ploughshare; in the third a weapon called shakr, which has the shape of a large ring with sharp edges; in the fourth a noose. He is seated on a giant bird ('anqā) and has 12 heads, each resembling an animal. They give an interpretation of all this, but it would take too long to explain it. They say that (Vāsudeva) ordered them to make an idol representing him, which they worship and circumambulate three times a day, with music and the burning of incense. He also told them to worship cows (v. i. §59), and whenever they meet a cow they prostrate themselves before her. He also told them not to cross the Ganges, and a Brahman who has crossed it loses his religion.
- 20. Of them are² the \*Mahādawiya (adepts of Mahādeva) who pretend that God's envoy unto them was an angel called Mahādawiya (Mahādeva), who approached them in human form riding on a bull and wearing a crown surmounted by bones of the dead and a similar necklace. In one of his hands was a human skull (33b) and in another a three-pointed lance, while he was fanning himself with a fan made of peacock's feathers. He told them to worship God and to make an idol having the likeness of himself, which they worship and which is their path to the Creator. Also not to despise anything because all things are the Creator's work. Also to wear necklaces of human bones, to make caps of the same kind and to smear their faces and bodies with ashes. Also to clothe themselves from the waist to the feet with rags, two fingers broad and having the length from their ankles to their waists, dyed in various colours forming whole pieces and not sewn to each other except at the waist. It is forbidden them (to eat) killed animals, to marry and to acquire property, their sustenance being what they get as alms. They are experts at wonderful magic.

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note: archad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Further on we drop these words recurring at the beginning of each paragraph.

- 21. The Kābāliya (Kāpālika) pretend that their apostle is an angel called Shib (Siva) who approached them in human form, smeared with ashes and wearing on his head a red felt cap (galansuwa) three spans high with parts of human skulls sewn onto it, his necklace. belt, bracelets and ankle-rings being of human bones. In one hand he held a human skull and in the other a drum similar to that of the Mahādeva. He ordered them to make a round object in the shape of a phallus, two cubits long and a cubit in diameter, and called sh.bl.nd (\*shibling), which means "the Apostle's phallus." He told them to worship this object because they assume that the cause of procreation in the world is the phallus. So they go about naked wearing only the above mentioned cap. Et ingentia tintinnabula suspendunt membro virili ut eius erectionem impedant, sunt enim interdictae eis mulieres. When they pass by someone of their sect they bow to him et tintinnabulum membro suspensum pulsant ut eum propitient. Some of them pierce their bodies and through the holes pass rings made of copper, iron or lead, just as rings are passed through the ears, and other rings are suspended on these rings like a cuirass.
- 22. The Rāmāniya (are the adepts of) Rāmān (Rāma) who was a tyrannous king and exceeded the measure of oppression. He pretended to be [God's?] envoy and ordered his people to worship him, saying that it was conducive to the Creator's pleasure, and much other nonsense (34a).
- 23. The Rāvaniya (adepts of Rāvana) say that by Rāvan's intermediary they seek the guidance of the Creator who accepted (Rāvan's) repentance and gave him a lance. So they made Rāvan their prophet.

# [Division B]

24. As regards those who believe in the Creator and Retribution and Punishment but believe [\*not] in (God's) envoys, they affirm that God had invited the people to worship Him and by the fact that he put into their hearts the love of Good and the hate of Evil He rendered them independent of anybody, so that they should not do to anyone what they themselves do not accept from other people. And this is their law set in their minds. God needs only to be worshipped by men. They pretend that Paradise is to be reached by the exertion of the mind and by opposing the nature of the body. Some of them say that this is not enough for them unless they have tortured their bodies and occupied their nature with various torments during which no leisure is left for revolt and no tendency to frivolity.

- 25. There are some who pretend that the attainment of Right and the attack upon  $(huj\bar{u}m)$  the True Reality consist in the destruction of the body and in liberation therefrom, for souls (abiding in it) are accessible to all kinds of sin while they embellish anything wicked and impede anything noble.
- 26. Those belonging to the class (milla) RISHIYA are the people who by long meditation have annihilated their passions. They claim that angels appear to them and that they acquire from them all that is propounded in books, morals and especially in magic. They live in the mountains where they build themselves shelters of plants and herbs. They feed on fruits (berries?) and herbs. All their lives they remain with their eyes closed revolving their meditations.
- 27. The N.KRĪNIYA (\*Nigaḍa-bandha?), i.e. "those fettered in iron." They shave their heads and beards and of their bodies hide only the privy parts. They plate their waists up to the breasts with iron in order that their bellies may not burst from the abundance of learning. They do not teach or speak to anyone until he has embraced their religion.
- 28. The K.nkābātriya (\*Gāngāyātriyā) are scattered through all Indian lands. One of their customs is that whenever a man has committed a sin, or disobeyed one of his parents, or done anything wicked, from wheresoever he be, from the farthest or nearest ends of India, he repairs to the river Ganges and takes a bath in it. Therein consists the purification of his sin, and if he dies on the way to the Ganges his (repentance) is accepted.
- 29. The Rājtartiva (\*Rāja-martya?) are the king's party. Their religion is to serve the kings and to strengthen their power. They say: "Wherefore should we torture our bodies, without removing any inconvenience or obtaining any profit?" They are the cleverest people in fighting with swords and bucklers and the most stubborn in fighting, the least easily wearied and the most contented with little until the time of remuneration (comes).
- 30. The Bhādrriya. One of their customs is to let their hair grow long and let it fall equally on all sides of their heads while they look from under it. They wear the  $qab\bar{a}$  (long mantle), with their hands out of the sleeves which hang before and behind them. Their chests and backs are naked and they gird their waists with chains. Each of their men is accompanied by another who holds the said chain in his hand and prevents him from running amok when he is overflowing with strength and might do so on account of the violence of his religious ecstasy. They do not drink wine. They go on pilgrimage to a mountain of theirs called  $J\bar{\nu}$ RGHAR to lament B.hādrz

and glorify Jūn who created the earth from B.hād.rz's skin, the mountains from his bones, the waters from his blood and the trees and plants from his hair. According to them there were three brothers—B.hādrz, Jūn and M.Rsh.

# [Division C (?): Idol-worshippers]

- 31. The Mahākāl.nkiya (\*Mahā-Kāliya), who have an idol called Mahākāl. They say he is a devil ('ifrīt) worthy of worship on account of his great power. This idol has four hands, is of blue complexion, with long hair, with grinning teeth, a naked belly, and an elephant skin on his back from (which?) blood is streaming. In both his ears are snakes. They also say other nonsensical things.
- 32. The Dīvathriya (?). One of their customs is to make an idol and to carry it on wheels, with a high canopy over it. They pull the chariot and go round the crowds (playing) on string instruments and performing various games. And at that time there is no courtesan in the country who does not put in an appearance. Before most of them walk crowds while they are seated on elephants and horses decked with many precious jewels. And so they keep going about with the idol. This happens in the spring time. Then they put the idol back in its place. To this idol belongs a treasury in which there are likenesses (masks?) of human faces representing ancient kings, chiefs of countries and ministers, as well as likenesses of animals, birds and ferocious beasts. On that day of festivity the men (35 a) put on these masks, but when the festivity is over all these things are returned to the treasury.
- 33. The Bh.k.QBIYA (\*Dahkīniya?). One of their customs is to make an idol in the shape of a woman, having a crown on her head and, before her, a bare sword, and other weapons, etc. When the Sun has entered Libra in the Zodiac they hold a great wedding ceremony and festival before that idol, gathering garments and boughs of trees as many as possible, as well as various perfumes. They bring sacrificial animals, such as sheep, cows and buffaloes, and throw hay before them. As soon as their heads are lowered they strike their necks with swords before the idol. They also treacherously kill, as a sacrifice to the idol, whomever they come across, so that on such days people beware of treachery. As to their kings they seize a fair-haired man with blue eyes and fix in front of the idol a dagger, or some such thing, and order the man whose shoulders are bound, to prostrate himself before the idol over the dagger. When his forehead has touched the dagger they deal a blow on his head so that the dagger penetrates through his forehead

into his head, well into the brain. Their belief is that by this procedure they will obtain a reward both in this world and the next. Then they pay homage (to the martyr), manifest great joy, have amusements (lahw) and games, eat and drink. This is a community despised by all the Indians.

- 34. The Jalabhaktiya (\*jala-bhakta), i.e. "Worshippers of the Water." According to them Water has an Angel who is the origin of every growth; in him is the foundation of Life and through him are secured duration, prosperity, procreation and purity. A man enters the water up to the waist and stays in it for a couple of hours, or more, holding in his hand aromatic plants. Then he cuts them into small pieces and throws one piece after the other into the water while he praises God and recites (prayers). When he wants to go away he takes some water and pours it over his head and on the parts of his body which are out of the water. Then he prostrates himself before the water and departs.
- 35. The Aknhūtriya (\*agni-hotrā) are Worshippers of Fire. They dig a square pit for the fire, gather over it and turn round it while they throw into it food, clothes, perfumes, gold, silver and jewels, whatever they have found. To them belong kings and nobles. They say that the Fire is the noblest of the four elements and the most excellent of them in its substance. (35b) They blame him who has burnt himself with fire, saying that he has polluted the Fire.
- 36. The sect of Worshippers of the Moon. According to them the Moon is an angel and (in his honour) they make an idol on wheels drawn by four (animals). In the hand of the idol there is a jewel. They fast half of each month and break their fast only on seeing the new moon. At that time they go up on the rooftops, burn perfumes and look at the moon with a pleasant mien (?). Then they come down, break their fast and play and dance before the idol.
- 37. The Worshippers of the Sun make an idol in its honour drawn by four horses. In the hand of the idol there is some object of the colour of fire. According to them the Sun is an angel, and they approach (the idol) with prostrations, circumambulations (burning) perfumes and (playing) various instruments. The idol has estates and revenues, and in connection with it they tell all sorts of terrifying and impious (stories).
- 38. The Bhābarniya (?). One of their customs is that one of them enters the graves and brings out one of the dead being in the most horrible condition, for they do not bury their dead (properly). Then he enters the town and reproaches the people, calling them

together with the words: "Oh, ye sinful rebels, captured by your passions and enslaved by your habits, how long will you marry your mothers and kill your fathers?" and so on.

- 39. The \*Jīrāmbaradhara, "wearers of bark garments"?), i.e. "those who dress in tree-leaves," are a class living in woods and dressing in the leaves of a tree which is called j.br (cīra?) and the leaves of which are as large as a loose garment. They do not mingle with other people and expose themselves to wind and rain, saying: "We undergo all this in exchange for the breeze of Paradise, for the enjoyment in it (Paradise) of the large-eyed Huris and for the garments of Paradise."
- 40. The Amīrk. Jariya (\*mṛga-cara), i.e. "those resembling wild animals," walk on all fours and feed on herbs (which they crop) with their mouths. They do not shave their heads and use no artifices for satisfying their needs as if they were beasts.

Besides this, they have (other) nasty ways and beliefs.

- 41. Some of them burn themselves with fire and some drown themselves in water, some starve themselves to death so that they die after twenty days and sometimes remain alive even thirty days.
- 42. Some of them roam in deserts until they are dead, some precipitate themselves from a high mountain in their country under which they place a (sort of) tree made of iron with sharpened boughs and branches. The man throws himself on it from the mountain and gets cut into pieces.

### [Division D: Buddhists]

43. They have many tales about Buddha and the bodhisatvas on which they meditate. Most of them believe in metempsychosis.

# [THE KINGS]

- 44. Most of their kings consider fornication lawful but the king of Qimār forbids fornication and wine drinking and prosecutes (the culprits) with capital punishment. None of their kings indulges in wine drinking with the exception of the King of Sarandīb (Ceylon), who drinks without respite and wine is brought to him from the Arabian lands.
- 45. Beyond him is the kingdom R.TYLĀ, the king of which is called \*FĀNDĪN (Pāṇḍya), after whom comes the king called AL-FĀRṬĪ, after whom comes the king called AL-ṢAYLAMAN (Ceraman) who is the greatest of the three and has the most numerous army. His army has huge contingents but its elephants are few. However, the Indians say that the elephants of Ṣaylamān are the most intrepid

in battle and the strongest of all elephants. It is said that the king possesses elephants 10 cubits high, though it is also said that his elephants do not exceed the height of 8 cubits. However, on the nearer side of Ṣaylamān there is a country called Aghbāb ("the gulfs") which in the days of old was ruled by a woman (cf. §57), and they have elephants taller than 10 cubits and up to 11 cubits.

- 46. Then comes the king called Ballahrā, reigning in the country called AL-K.MKI (al-Kumkam), which is a vast kingdom abounding in men, and round it are kings who obey Ballahra.
- 47. And in this kingdom (country, India?) there are kings, one of whom is called AL-ṬĀFIR (\*Ṭāqin). His kingdom is small but rich and well cultivated. The inhabitants are dark or white, and (among them) beauty is common. Slaves from this country possess a beauty not equalled by any one else.
- 48. After him comes the king called JABA (?). They are the noblest of the lot, and Ballahrā, who is a great king, takes ladies from them and from no one else. In their forests there grows red sandal.
- 49. After him comes the king called \*Jurz (Gurjara), in whose kingdom justice and security prevail. Even if gold were thrown on the road no one would dare to pick it up. The country is vast, and merchants from Arabia visit it for commerce and deal with (the inhabitants), and it is reported (36b) that they are honest in business, kind and charitable. Business with them is done by means of pieces of gold and the dirhams called *tāṭirī*, with the king's effigy on them, each dirham weighing one mithqal. When their bargain is finished the king sends with (the merchants) someone to protect their goods and to escort them out of the kingdom.
- 50. After him comes another king who is more opulent than (Jurz?)¹ and more justice-loving. He says to the merchants and travellers: "Go out as you like. If anything happens to you and if you have any losses, take from me, as I stand surety for you." He has a numerous army and many elephants. He wars with Ballahrā and other kings.
- 51. After him comes a king called D.н.м (\*Dharma-pāla), who possesses a huge and well-equipped army, more than 300,000 strong. He starts on expeditions only in winter lest water be insufficient for their needs, for they use up their rivers to the last drop.2 In their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> §50 apparently refers still to Jurz (§49). The text must be restored: "there is no other king more opulent than he."

<sup>2</sup> In a parallel passage Mas'ūdī, Murūj, I, 384, says: "(Rhmy) wars only in winter because elephants have little patience of thirst and have little endurance in that

country good cotton is found, the like of which is not found elsewhere. From it kerchiefs are made which are called shāra-vi shāhī ("royal turbans"?),1 and other stuffs which being folded pass through the opening of a signet ring.

52. After him comes a king called QAMRŪN (\*Qāmarūb-Kāmarūpa— Assam), whose kingdom adjoins the country of China. He has a small army and in his country are territories producing gold in lumps like a man's palm. Their gold is better than that of China. All these kings have pierced ears.

- 53. The king called D.H.M has many lands; among them is a town called H.DKĪRA with a market about a farsakh (long). ceroses and cows called ghizghāw (yaks?) are found (in this kingdom), which adjoins the coast of the Sea of Aghbāb.2 This is an unpleasant (?) sea, (but) on its coast lie many vast towns. The business is carried on by means of gold (-coins) and cowrie-shells, but the latter are more in use, and they call them k.bth (?). Their rivers flow to the sea in which there is an ebb and flow of fresh water.
- 54. After this king follows a group (dynasty?) of people called BANŪ MUNABBIH, who pretend to be descendants of Sam b. Lu'ayy, They are kings of India and read the khutba in the name of the Imam of the Muslims. Their lands lie near Mansura and the income of these kings is from the revenue of the Idol of Multan. has a large income and its property is in the hands of the Banu-Munabbih, who take advantage of it in order to dominate the kings of India. The idol, it is said, stands over 20 cubits and has the face of a man. Over it is a huge roof. The Indians pretend that [the god represented in] this idol descended from the heaven and ordered them to worship him, and also that this roof was built 2000 years ago. The idol has attendants who look after it. All Indians go on pilgrimage to it (even) from places situated at one or two years' distance. There they shave their heads and circumambulate seven times, moving towards the left. They roll on the ground before the idol, pray humbly and show signs of humility. The idol has four faces; whichever way they turn there is a face in front of them. While circumambulating they prostrate themselves before each face. When someone of them dies who is well-to-do he bequeaths to the idol a part of his property or (even) the whole of it. Some among them carry their contributions (al-māl) to the idol from a distance of a year's journey. Some of them solicit the idol's permission saying: "Allow me to die," and then kill themselves before it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidently to be read in Persian.
<sup>2</sup> "Sea of Gulfs," more probably "of Lagoons"?

The idol has priests who do not visit women, do not kill anything, wear only clean garments and perfume themselves when about to go before the idol. When someone appears before (the idol) he kneels down, stretches out his hands, prays the idol to look at him and to have pity on him, weeps and shows signs of humility. The idol has a kitchen in which every day various kinds of food are cooked and spiced. Then they spread before the idol a very broad bananaleaf and heap on this the prepared food to the height of a man. They circumambulate the idol-temple with cymbals, drums and flutes, and often a hundred handmaids (are seen) turning round it. One of the priests stands by the food and fans it with a banana-leaf as though to cool it. He closes the door and afterwards proclaims: "The (food) has been granted as alms and nothing of it is lacking." Then anyone of those present, whether men, cattle, wild beasts, or birds, feeds on it, and no one is prevented from doing so. And they say that this is (the idol's) daily alms.

- 55. They also say that in the Ganges valley there is another ancient idol-temple visited in pilgrimage by the subjects of the king D.H.M, and indeed devotees from among them repair thither and arrive there naked and attenuated with their eyes sunken and skins shrivelled from the excess of mortification. They cast themselves down before the idol where there are predatory vultures which are accustomed to eating human flesh. Some of the (pilgrims) feign death and the vultures approach them and first of all peck out their eyes which they patiently endure. Gradually they peck out their flesh until they have destroyed it. Often the vultures slit their bellies and eat the bowels while they look at them with resignation and piety.
- 56. Beyond this kingdom there is a king called T.Rsūl. He has numerous subjects and towns. The people are white and have long hair which they let loose. They possess many horses and cattle and their kingdom is vast.

Beyond them is a king called AL-Mūsa. His towns are built of stone and they have plenty of musk.

Beyond them there is a king called AL-Mānk whose kingdom adjoins the country of China.

It is said that these three kings: al-Ṭ.rsūl, al-Mūsa and Mānk, fight the Chinese but cannot withstand them because the king of China has more troops and is stronger in power. Both the beginning and the end of these kingdoms adjoin the country of China.

All the kings of India wear adornments, jewels, necklaces, bracelets and double baldrics covered with pearls.

- 57. In the kingdom of D.H.M there is a land called URF.SHĪN, which lies on the sea-coast. In the days of old its ruler was a woman called \*Rāniya (cf. §45). Her kingdom has a pestilential (climate); most of the Indians who enter it die, but there is much profit in it for merchants. The queen was an astute person, and D.H.M, in spite of the number of his troops and the magnitude of his power, could not wage war on her. She used to fight in person. She had an enormous body such as no one has (ever) seen.
- 57 bis (= 17 in Chap. XV). Opposite Sarandīb (Ceylon) there is a town called Rāmshīr, separated from Sarandīb by mountains rising from the sea and standing close together. Beyond (the town) there is a tribe of cannibals who kill (their victims) and cut them to pieces. In the woods of Sarandīb there are naked people whose language is unintelligible. They do not possess an articulate speech but use something like whistling. They have very small bodies and their stature does not exceed 4 spans. They are wild, avoid men, and climb onto trees with their hands without using their feet.
- 58. This is what is known about the coast of the Sea of Aghbāb (v.s. §53) and its population. After it follows the country of ZĀBAJ, whose great king is called Maharāj, which means "king of kings." This country consists of islands. We know of no king more charitable than he, more powerful in his equipment and army, or having more revenue. It is said that daily he receives 50 maunds of gold from cock-fighting, for this (sport) is common in his kingdom. The thigh of every cock which has won belongs to the government and the owner has to redeem it from the latter by paying one dinar, more or less. It is also said that the king's daily revenue reaches 200 maunds of gold. He had numerous islands, one of which is called B.RIĀY.L, and mariners (36 a) say that the Antichrist is there. The inhabitants of this island have beautiful faces like "hammered shields"; they plait their hair like the tails of post-horses. At night sounds of musical instruments (ma'āzif) are heard in the island and (the mariners) see fires kindled and hear the voices of men. The Mahārāja's people swear by the Fire and when two of them have a dispute before the sultan, a piece of iron weighing a ratl is taken and heated in the fire until sparks fly from it. Then leaves of a local tree resembling the laurel are taken and placed on the palm of the defendant's hand, up to the number of nine. Then the heated iron is taken with tongs and placed on the leaves (lying) on his palm,

¹ This abrupt passage indicates a gap formed by the omission of a number of paragraphs on the southern seas, arbitrarily transferred into the factitious Chapter XVI. These paragraphs are: §10—Lankābālūs; §11—the island of Jinns; §13—a native does not appreciate money; §16—silent trade with islanders; §17—Rāmshīr opposite Ceylon; §18—good swimmers; §19—Bālūs; §23—Wāq-wāq.

and the man must seven times walk a distance of 100 steps backwards and forwards. If the leaves and the palm of his hand are completely burnt, his crime is proved; if the latter be punishable with death, he is killed; if it is punishable with a fine, a well-to-do man is fined with (the loss of) his property, whereas a needy one becomes the sultan's slave and he may sell him as he likes.

- 59. Among Indian laws is one that if anybody kills a cow he is put to death for it (v.s. §19).
- 60. Someone who visited India said: "I reached AL-QANDAHĀR.¹ Its king is a mighty (ruler), strong in punishment, strong in zeal. If any of his generals or soldiers has drunk wine the penalty is as follows: one hundred rings are heated in the fire and placed on his hands and often he perishes thereby. Other punishments consist in cutting off both hands, both feet, the nose, both ears and both lips (of the culprit). If the king is victorious over one of his enemies he cuts off his ears or lips and then lets him go, saying that after this he is no longer fit for reigning. When anyone visiting his country offers him a present he rewards him richly, for he gives him a hundredfold (of his present).
- 61. The original devotees in India come from QIMĀR. It is said that there are 100,000 of them there and that they are the R.MĀDIYA possessing a special hymn to God. [Some traveller] said: "I sat near one of them and he drew a little aside from me for they do not approach Muslims saying that they are unclean as they eat cow's flesh. I once saw one (of the Indians) who was visited by one of the great devotees. The latter started speaking in Indian, in a tongue which I understood. The meaning was: "O, Thou (38b) like whom there is nothing." I cried to my friend: "Dost thou know what he says?" He replied: "O, wonder! And do you know what he said?" I said: "Yes. Since you have recognised that there is nothing like Him, why do you worship the idols besides Him?" He said: "Verily, (this?) is our qibla, just as your qibla is (but) stones built and laid in tiers, and yet you worship them."
- 62. The king of QIMĀR has a mountain with aloes. The said devotees are there. The mountain is long and wide. The king of Qimār has several judges, who try cases between men. Were the king's son to approach them with reference to some dispute, they would seat him beside his opponent and try the case regularly in accordance with religion and with absolutely no bias. The kingdom of Qimār is not so great as the other kingdoms of India, but its king

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably \*Qimār, i.e. Khmer, Cambodia.

holds a high rank, is victorious and possesses many elephants. His presents to the Arabs are elephants' tusks.

- 63. After his kingdom comes the country AL-ARH.N. The inhabitants are white and pleasant-looking. They marry their sons just as they give away their daughters [at an early age], considering this the proper thing.
- 64. In the territory of Lūhūvar there is a town called Rāmiyān which possesses an idol reclining on one side, with (other) idols standing upright around it. It also possesses an idol of gilt copper which is their greatest idol. To it belong many incomes from land and shops in the market. It has thirty courtesans who are paid from the same sources, and the people avail themselves of them for nothing, and thereby they¹ seek merit. The courtesans are never absent from the temple either by night or day.
- 65. After this town comes the town of Jalhandar with an idol which has numerous sources of revenue and villages. It possesses a courtesans' house. This town lies (within?) the frontiers of the Great Rāy.
- 66. After it follows the town of S.lābūr, which also lies within the frontiers of the Great Rāy. In it merchants live and very numerous wares are to be found. There are in it many idol temples with numerous sources of income, every one of which amounts to 100,000 dirhams, more or less. They have also courtesans' houses. The town has three markets, all of them being markets of courtesans whose fees go to the idol. Some of them are worth 1 dānaq, some 2 dānaqs, but mostly the fee is 1 dirham without any addition.
- 67. Another town is called B.Rāhūn (B.rājūn?) which has a large market open four days in a year, at which people gather from all parts. It has 700 houses belonging to idols. (The latter) possess sources of revenue and courtesans' houses regularly organised. In each house there are 10 or 12 of them. When someone of the rich (inhabitants) dies he bequeaths some of his property to this temple. And he who is a chief among their chiefs marries from 20 to 100 women. The Rāy is among them what the Caliph, or the Supreme Sultan is with us. When he mounts, one hundred of his chiefs mount with him, each of whom has 10,000 horse. This Rāy believes that all the Earth is his kingdom, and no one dares to say in his presence that in the world other kings are obeyed besides him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably, the courtesans.

# CHAPTER XIII OF THE HABASHA

- (39a) I. The HABASHA ("Ethiopians") are a category under which come different classes (of people) such as the Nubians, Zanj, Their territories consist of extensive countries with a widestretching periphery the extremity of which ends where habitation ends and cultivation and procreation ceases. And as their lands are removed from temperate climes their features (too) have become different, a black colour has become prevalent among them because of the excess of heat in their region, (for) we had mentioned previously that harmony in features and in the appearance of limbs is a consequence of the balance of humours, and the latter is a consequence of temperance in soil and air. When this is borne in mind one sees that the most appropriate places in which pleasantness of features is realised are the countries situated in the middle of the occumene or near it, such as the territories (mamlaka?) of the Persians, Arabs and Byzantines and the nearer parts of the country of the Turks. But as regards those who live on the periphery of the oecumene and in the more distant climes, in view of their (geographical) remoteness from temperate conditions, a disproportion, which is the opposite of harmony, is found in their limbs and in their complexion, as is the case with the Habasha, and quite especially in their farther lands. In them one discovers certain repellent forms and ugly features, such as protuberance of the eyes, flatness of the nose, large nostrils, flapping of the lips and their formation in the shape of those of beasts or cattle. All this is explained by their remoteness from the middle (zones), by their nearness to the torrid zone (?) and by the predominance of excessive heat in their climate. Heat being the most powerful cause of attraction, this explains their growth upwards, so that their stature becomes very tall, and as heat expands the things and opens them, their souls are expanded outwards and they are always found to be gay, playful and laughing.
- 2. They belong to the group opposed to the Turks because the Turks receded from temperance on account of the excess of cold in their country. The property of cold is to join, to make massive, to tighten and to collect the parts. This (actually) takes place in the farthest part of their country, especially in the country of Yājūj (Gog). Therefore their stature shortens, their eyes become small, their nostrils and mouths become narrow and their souls compressed, so that their joy diminishes. Heat is limited to their

insides because cold thickens their pores (masāmm) and therefore their stomachs get hot, and their digestion strengthens and becomes good. Then their flesh increases and their brutality augments, contrary to what happens to the Ḥabasha.

- 3. The latter seldom get angry or sad. Their eyes and mouths and other apertures widen, the digestion of food worsens, their bodies are nourished only with heavy food because light food does not stay in their intestines till it is digested, but is soon dissolved on account of the breadth of their apertures and the wideness of their pores. So their flesh and fat do not increase because heat melts them. Their bodies grow light, their stature, being attracted by heat, grows tall. And as their bodies are attracted, so are their crops and trees, and a tree of theirs shades 10,000 horse.
- 4. ḤAMZA B. ḤASAN AL-ISFAHĀNĪ reproduces (a report of) ḤASAN B. 'AMR AL-SĪRĀFĪ how the latter saw huge trees in the land of the SŪDĀN. In the land called \*KĀNAM he saw two trees which shaded 30,000 horse. The king of that people lives on top of them, one thousand steps leading from the ground up to the king's abode. On the two trees there are abodes made of wood. There live the king's servants, wives and retinue, (40 a) some 10,000 human beings. It is reported that in their country the cotton plant becomes a tree which a man can climb. Their bodies are in proportion to their trees.
- 5. Blackness of colour is their general characteristic. They are unlike the Indians, whose complexions vary between black, brown and white, for heat in India does not reach the degree of perfect scorching. The same is true of Arab countries. As for the heat in the lands of Ḥabasha and Zanj, it reaches the extreme limit in scorching. They find beauty in the intensity of blackness and abhor whiteness and hold that a white man cannot be healthy. There are some among them who eat the whites.

Some people prefer blacks to the whites. What led them to this assumption was the fact that they had seen many Arabs and Indians who possessed an abundant share of spiritual and physical gifts and whose complexion was blackish, as they also had seen that, if some whites had black moles, it added to their beauty and pleasantness. When someone looks at much blackness, his sight improves and becomes acute; but if he looks at much whiteness his sight is wearied, as someone's eyes are tired by snow. But this judgment must be rejected; it is a pronouncement which has no reality before reason. Indeed, the science of nature and the knowledge of its essence decide in favour of whiteness for this is a simple

and primitive natural colour set as the (basic) element for the totality of colours, which are put on it, and then it is coloured by them and it receives them all. In this sense blackness is the opposite of white and of the other colours between them. mediate colours are composed of these two and, by dint of the proportion of them in a mixture, numberless colours come into being. The black colour does not receive anything of other colours. The scholars in natural sciences say that the white colour is born from the influence of light on one of the four elements which receive it. Its opposite is the black colour which is born from the influence of darkness on the elements which receive it. The superiority of Light over Darkness is a fact which is not hidden (40b) from the sage. Light is an essential quality in the noble heavenly bodies which God Almighty constituted as the causes of the existence of whatever there is in this world. (On the other hand) blackness is a quality which negates (light) and is unlike (it). The argument is so clear that it dispenses with the trouble of proofs. (So) it has been established that the blackness of complexion of the Habasha and Zanj is no superiority. It is only a result of the absence of temperance and the excess of scorching in their climate. Blackness, though a defect, has its use in some instances; (such is) its physical utility, through its usefulness for sight, for it collects light and narrows the opening of the eye, and consequently does not allow light to spread; (such is) its political and moral utility, as when the government agents dress in black in order to inspire the subjects with awe and fear.

- 6. It is said in the Tawārīkh (Histories) that one of the kings of Khorasan crossed the Oxus in order to fight the Turks. In his troops there were some Zanj. When the Turks sallied forth to meet them, they saw the Zanj, whose appearance frightened them, for they imagined that they were demons or some other kind of supernatural beings. So they were put to flight and retreated without fighting. When the kings of Khorasan were informed of this they increased the numbers of Zanj and Ḥabasha and put them forward in fighting the Turks. But finally the Turks got accustomed to seeing the Zanj, and killing one of them saw that his blood was red. So they said: "His blood is like human blood and so are his limbs," and their fear ceased.
- 7. In the Ta'rīkh Mulūk al-Turk ("History of Turkish Kings") it is related that one of them called B.K.J became related by marriage to the king called JABBŪYA. Among the downy and numerous gifts which he despatched to him was a Zani porter who

was a wonder among the white. They used to bring him to their assemblies and express their astonishment in looking at his appearance and colour. He possessed (great) sagacity, power of thought and valour, and he succeeded in performing many great deeds. The king attached him to his person and his station continuously grew in elevation and solidity. Finally he attacked the king, killed him, occupied his place and seized most of their provinces. (41a) He assumed the title of Qarā-khān, which no one had held before him, for it means "Black khaqan." His dignity was great, so whenever the Turks after him wished to honour a king they addressed him as "Qarā-khān," in Turkish qarā being "black" and khāqān "Supreme Lord." So Qarā-khān means "Black Khāqān."

### CHAPTER XV

# OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE REMOTE OUTLYING COUNTRIES AND OF THE ISLANDS

- (42a) I. As the habitat of the people living in the outlying parts of the occumene and on the islands situated far away from the centre is remote from temperateness, so their morals, natures and mode of life are also remote from it. Their deviation from temperance is the result of either of two factors, namely, cold and heat in the North and the South respectively.
  - 2. See Chapter IX, §12 bis (Bulghar).
  - 3. ,, ,, §12 ter (Isū, Yūra).
  - 4. ,, §12 quater (Northerners).
  - 5. ,, ,, §5 bis (Kāshghar).
  - 6. ,, ,, §5 ter (Qūri?).
- 7. ABŪ SAʻĪD 'UBAIDULLÄH IBN JIBRĪL related that in the year 434 (A.D. 1043) he saw a number of Orientals who had come to perform the pilgrimage, having only recently adopted the faith. Among them was one who could understand and knew how to speak, and he reported many strange things, among them that near their country, and to the north thereof, there were mountains in which were creatures having the form of men, except that the males had tails like the tails of dogs twisted up behind, but the women were of the form of human women; all went naked, being hidden by nothing but the hair on their bodies. The sea casts up for them little fish the size of three spans, and on these they subsist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter from the ruler of Qitā to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Ch. VIII, §22.

- 8. As regards the southern parts, their deviation from temperance is conditioned by excessively scorching heat, so that the nature of the inhabitants becomes removed from that of men and approaches that of wild beasts.
- 9. In the farthest lands of the Zanj there is a tribe of theirs living on the sea-coast and having no buildings, fields or animals. Heat oppresses them excessively. They have underground dwellings which they dig out and make deep. At day time they take refuge in these dwellings, which they cannot leave until at sunset the sun (disk) has shrunk. Their food is fish, fruit and trees (?). Their lands include meadows and intertwined trees. They are of ugly appearance and extremely tall, with flapping lips, lop-eared, with wide ear apertures and nostrils. They eat the flesh of the whites whom they have vanguished. It is their custom after a victory over some whites to imprison them on an island of theirs lying in the sea and to give them food in abundance of whatever there is in their possession, so that their bodies fatten and their flesh increases, after which they slaughter them and eat them. Their king and queen have special rights to this dish, but if it is plentiful other persons partake of it. On account of their heat they are hard pressed by lust. Sometimes, when the whites are brought before the king that he may make his choice of whom he wants to be slaughtered, the queen's eyes fall on someone whom she finds good and she selects him as food for herself, takes him into her underground dwelling and dallies with him. If she discovers in him strength and mastery in coition, she spares him, cares for him and feeds him with the kind of fish which increases sexual power. She continues to avail herself of his services until he grows weak and tired, and when he becomes impotent she kills and eats him. Sometimes the man seizes an opportunity and runs away.

Traders from neighbouring countries visit their lands with the object of hunting their children and young people. Accordingly they repair to their meadows and hide in the woods carrying with them dates (or fruit?), of which they drop a little on the children's playing ground. The latter pick up the dates, find them good and search for more. On the second day they drop the dates a little farther away than on the first day, and so they gradually go farther and farther and the children, whose minds are set on the dates, follow them, and when they are far (enough) from their paternal houses, the traders leap upon them, seize them and carry them away to their land.

10. In the Indian sea there is an island called Lankabalūs

(Nicobar islands) which is said to measure 700 farsakhs in diameter. The language of its inhabitants is incomprehensible. In their sea amber is found, but they do not profit by it. They follow the ships, and by means of signs and gestures buy iron, but they do not demand anything else.

- II. Beyond them lies an island whose inhabitants are black and ugly. They kill whoever they find, outside themselves. After having cut them to pieces they leave them suspended and then swallow them raw. Some people call them JINN, and this (nickname) occurred to them because they saw their bestiality in eating strangers. Then everybody from outside avoided them and shunned them, and as no one mixed with them, their position became ignored in intercourse (?). By spurning them the others increased their enmity. Some people visited them in whom wickedness was ingrafted and so their enmity became strong and they became like demons (jinn) by their isolation and concealment from men, or even like devils on account of the ugliness of their faces and forms.
- 12. The ugliness of appearance, the deformity of limbs and stature, the excess of height represent nothing strange in the negroes and islanders. Some of them go naked and do not hide their shame. But then necessity obliges them to trade and barter, and this can go on only by dumb show, which secures safety to the parties. Most of the islanders deal for iron, salt and loin-cloths. Dinars are seldom current among them.
- 13. Some sea-trader says that a rough sea (obliged them to) cast anchor and land at an island, and he offered a dinar to a native who took it, smelt it, tasted it and then returned it being dissatisfied that he could not discover any use in it.
- 14. In a corner of the Ḥabasha sea (Red Sea) there is a tribe of Berbers whom traders visit. They deal and trade with them from afar, with watchmen and guards (standing by) as if they are afraid of them, their custom being to castrate  $(yujibb\bar{u})$  the strangers whom they discover, and this is their only mode of procedure. Then they hang their male parts with the scrotum in their houses, taking a pride in the number (of their spoils) and boasting about them.
  - 15. See Chapter IX, §8 bis (Kimäk).
- 16. A group of merchants visit the nearer islands belonging to India in order to buy cloves, and it is a fact universally known that they are bought by dumb show<sup>1</sup> on account of the hatred between the parties. The maritime traders travel to the island which is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The trade in which the parties put together the equivalents of their respective goods and do not meet personally, cf. Index, under "Dumb show."

the "Clove mine," and on their arrival anchor their ship and start in boats towards the shore, and (there) spread out leather sheets, place, each on his sheet, their purses with dinars, and at night retire from the island. In the morning they return in their boats to the same place and find in each sheet a heap of cloves as an equivalent for their money. They fetch (the cloves), but if someone is discontented (with the bargain) he leaves (the cloves) where they are, returns on the following day and finds his money, as it was, in the purse under his seal, while the cloves have been taken away. No injustice happens in their bargains. The island is large but at day-time no man is seen on it and no cloves. When night comes a great uproar and much shouting is heard on it and no one ventures to penetrate into the island. Whoever enters it or stays behind, no trace of him is found afterwards and nothing is known about him.

- 17. See Chap. XII, §57 bis (Rāmshīr).
- 18. In the sea there are some white folk who by swimming overtake ships even though the latter move as swiftly as the wind. They bring amber in their mouths and sell it for iron.
  - 19. The inhabitants of the Bālūs island are cannibals.
- 20. A well-known (ma'rūf) shaykh and practising physician, who had travelled a great deal (45a) says that he stayed with an Arab tribe in a desert lying in the direction of AL-AHSA. He asked for hospitality and remained with them. They entertained him with salt jerked meat for they had no food but locusts, milk and game. Says the Shaykh: I told them one day that I wanted some fresh meat, and they said they would ride out on the following day for a hunt and take me with them. In the morning they mounted and so did I. When we penetrated into the desert they said to me: "Thou dost not know the ways of hunting, so stay at the watering place of the wadi and when the game arrives drive it back to us." The road was narrow and I stopped, and lo, a crowd with human faces, men, women, and children, came up and pointed to (me) with shouts resembling speech that (I) should get out of the way. I did so until they had passed. They were naked and their bodies were covered with soft hair like fur. When all of them were gone the hunters came on their trail. They said: "Whither is the game gone?" I answered: "I have seen no game, only a group of naked people who asked me to clear the road and so I did." They laughed and said: "The cheats have duped you." And they had with them a number of these beasts which they had slaughtered and slung on their horses. On seeing them my soul was moved with disgust. I shunned participating in their repast and refrained from eating

meat, but they said: "What you have been eating all these days was this same animal." And they forced me to eat it, but it nauseated ('āqat) me and so I left them. And this is the animal called nasnās ("faun"?).

- 21. It is said that in the deserts stretching between Badhakhshān and Kāshghar there is a considerable number of this animal.
- 22. It is mentioned in the Akhbār Iskandar ("Alexandrian lore") that when he was about to enter the kingdom of darkness a tribe of this kind appeared before him and they rivalled his army in numbers and he was obliged to fight and exterminate them. They were a kind of ape (qarada) and their bodies were covered with hair like those of apes.
- 23. I have read in the  $Kit\bar{a}b$  al-Baḥr ("Book of the sea") that in the island of Wāq-Wāq, where cbony grows, there is a tribe (45b) whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, except the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them.

### COMMENTARY

### CHAPTER VIII

#### CHINA

On the earlier Muslim description of China see Ferrand's collection of texts *Relations de voyages* . . . *relatifs a l'Extrême Orient*, I, 1913, II, 1914, and bibliography in H.-'A., 223-8.

The chapter is a complicated patch-work of quotations from

various sources. Its contents are as follows:

(a) General introduction: 1. The Seven Climes. 2. General characteristics of China. 3. Şīn, Qitāy and Yughur. 4. The Chinese and Byzantines as craftsmen. 5. The Chinese do not mix with other people. 6. Mānī's law.

(b) A merchant's report: 7. Y.njūr and Kūfū. 8. A block of wood carved into an image. 9. Mānī on images. 10. Self-propelling

carts. 11. Gambling. 12. Tailoring.

- (c) More on goods and merchants: 13. Bihāfarīdh's shirt. 14. The Akhbār on a eunuch's shirt. 15. Goods imported and exported. 16. The 'Alavī middlemen.
- (d) General: 17. Language and religion. 18. Chinese once in Samarqand, now divided.

(e) Land routes: 19. to China, Yughur and Qitay. 20. The

Shārī or Basmīl. 21. Policy of Qitāy and Yughur.

- (f) An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghaznī: 22. A letter of the lord of Qitāy and his presents. 23. Ditto of the king of the Yughur. 24. Maḥmūd's reply. 25. Animal cycle of twelve years.
- (g) Maritime routes: 26. Lūfīn, Khān-fū, curfews, goods. 27. Malik of Khān-fū; Chinese are white; registration of cargoes; the fan-chang, the monsoon.

(h) Chinese customs: 28. Poll-tax. 29. Mourning, courtesans.

- (i) General: 29. Khumdān the capital. 30. Clothing and dwellings. 31. Priests responsible for bringing rain. 32. Curfews. 33. Environs of Khumdān; 360 towns in China. 34. The sea-board of China. 35. Tribes between China and Khirkhīz. 36. Al-Masālik on a redhaired nation.
- (j) Customs continued: 37. Criminal procedure. 38. Passports. 39. Clothing and homes. Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum.

(k) Sīlā (Corea): 41.

(1) Tibet: 42. Its divisions. 43. Musk.

The introductory section on the Climes is probably borrowed from al-Farghānī. As for the rest of the Chapter, the author himself quotes among his sources the account of a merchant who travelled to China, as well as the  $Akhb\bar{a}r$  (?) and the  $Mas\bar{a}lik$ , but, although

with regard to the merchant the text positively states: "I met a clever man" (§7), a closer analysis of the passage leaves no doubt about its having been transcribed from an earlier work.

Under the name of Akhbār Gardīzī refers to a work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, which is not otherwise known. Barthold, Otchot, 79, tentatively identified it with Kitāb jamharat al-Furs wal-nawāqil, "Genealogies of Persians and their colonies," quoted in the Fihrist, 149. As our §14 is not in Gardīzī, it is probable that, in this case, Akhbār refers to some collection of reports, similar to that going under the name of Sulaymān the Merchant. In fact, §29, on mourning, etc., is very close to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, p. 37. The description of the maritime road to China is more likely to have been inspired by I. Khurdādhbih's work, BGA, VII, 69.2

The Masālik is referred to in a paragraph (§36), which is also found in Gardīzī, the latter quoting Jayhānī as his source. One should imagine that the other items coinciding in Marvazi and Gardizi had also passed through Jayhani's huge and important compilation.<sup>3</sup> Here is the abstract of Gardizi's chapter on China with the indication of the parallel §§ in Marvazi.

Gardizi Marvazī's §§ Road to Khumdan 29 China is a vast kingdom 30 Silk clothes with long sleeves ... 30 Streets covered 39 Dwellings have statues 30 and 39 30 ("numerous") Army of 400,000 . . 8 (? many more details) Chinese clever ... . . Good textiles and vases 12 (?) Abū Zayd (Balkhī?) on the Ghuzz being deest China's neighbours Frontiers: Khotan, India, Bolor, Gog deest (Sulaymān, 59: Toghuzghuz, Tibet) and Magog I. Khurdādhbih says every traveller to deest, but cf. I. Kh., China becomes a sage 170<sub>3</sub> Many kings under the Faghfür deest Yellow brocade and white horses redeest served for the Faghfur Visible once a year when he rides to the deest ancestors' tombs Great audience with musicians deest Only the vazīr, the ṣāḥib (?) and the 30 (vazīr and ḥājib) envoys admitted to the king Reception of envoys 30 Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum ... 40

¹ Compiled in 237/851 and completed by Abū Zayd Sīrāfī c. 303/915. Cf. Chap. XV, §23, in which some *Kitāb al-baḥr* is referred to. It is noteworthy that I. Kh., 62, quotes some reports of Mariners (*dhakara baḥriyyūn*) on the pepper-plant of Southern India.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But the data may have passed through Jayhānī.

<sup>3</sup> On the original source, v.i, §29.

Gardīzī	Marvazī's §
Crops not irrigated	31 ("cereals")
Priests responsible for rains	31
180 drums in the palace	32 ("numerous")
Curfew	32
Crimes punishable with death	32 (more details)
A red-haired people living beyond	36 (from al-Masālik)
China	,

The question of the direct sources of our text does not cover the problem of the original reports responsible for single items. Many details indicate that Marvazi's data relate to different times and All the items in which Manichaeism is said to be the religion of the Chinese (§§6, 17) are earlier than A.D. 843. The traditional name of the Chinese capital in §29, namely, Khumdan (Hsi-an-fu), takes us back to the T'ang epoch and is entirely different from the later capital of Y.nchūr (Yung-chou?), which flourished in the post-T'ang time, see §§7, 19. The data on the K'itan embassy belong to 418/1027. Different sources account for some repetitions (§26 curfew in Canton, §32—ditto in Khumdan; goods for China §§15 and 26) and inconsistencies (the item on the appearance of the Chinese disturbs §27).

In brief, the primary sources which one can recognize are as follows:

- (a) Some ancient (eighth to ninth century A.D.) accounts of Arab mariners: §§14-17 and separately §§26-28, 37-39 and 41.
- (b) Some overland travellers to the capital of Khumdān (Hsi-anfu) under the T'angs (early ninth century A.D.?): §§6 (?), 29-35.
- (c) Some merchant who visited the capital of Y.njūr probably in the beginning of the tenth century: §§7-12.1
- (d) Data collected personally by Jayhānī (early tenth century A.D.): §§42 (partly), 43 (?).
  - (e) Data of an embassy from Qitay in 418/1027: §§3, 5 (?), 18-25.
  - (f) Marvazī's own remarks: §§2, 18 (?).

With the exception of (e) and (f), most of the remaining items may have passed through Jayhānī as intermediary.

§1. The division of the earth into climes comes appropriately at the beginning of the chapter on China, the latter being considered the easternmost country of the world. The division is an ancient Greek<sup>2</sup> one, but even in translating Ptolemy Arab geographers introduced their additions into the original scheme, see Khuwārizmi's Sūrat al-ard, ed. Mžik, and Barthold's Preface to the H.-' $\bar{A}$ , 10.

Apart from some minor alterations, the description entirely corresponds with that found in al-Farghani's Fil-harakat al-samāwiya,

<sup>2</sup> The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, see E. Honigmann,

Die Sieben Klimata, 1929, pp. 10-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The authority (b) calls the emperor Faghfür, whereas the authority (c) refers to him as Tafghāj-khān.

ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 35.1 Practically the same text is reproduced in I. Rusta, 96-8, Mutahhar, IV, 49-53 (Seventh Clime left out), Mujmal al-tawārīkh, 479-81, and Yāgūt, I, 29. By some slip, Marvazi skipped the original Sixth Clime and then quoted under the "Sixth Clime" the description of the Seventh Clime, and under the "Seventh Clime," the data referring to the zone which I. Rusta calls "what is beyond the aforesaid climes, down to the end of the inhabited lands." Marvazī slightly abridges the enumeration of places.<sup>2</sup> The island al-K.rk is spelt al-K.rl in Ferghani and Khuwārizmi, al-Kwl in I. Rusta and the Mujmal, and al-K.rk in Mutahhar and Yāqūt. De Goeje in his note to I. Rusta, 96c, identifies it with "Kūlū or Kūlam" (Quilon). According to Nallino, Atti dei Lincei, 1896, II/I, 39, the island which Khuwarizmi calls "al-Mydh or al-K.rl" is meant to represent Gujarat, cf. also al-Battānī, ed. Nallino, II, 51, No. 239. The people Myd (\*Mydh?) or M.nd are often quoted by early Arab writers as occupying the coastal region of the Sind and Kathiawar, see Minorsky, Mand in EI. The Myd were notorious pirates, and in this connection it may be placed on record that some mysterious al-K.rk plundered Jedda in 151/768. Two years later Mansūr sent against them a naval expedition from Başra, see I. Athir, V, 455 and 466. The question of al-Myd/al-K.rk is complicated by Ibn Sa'id (d. circa A.D. 1286?), as available in Ferrand's translation, Relations, 336. Ibn Sa'id places the islands of M.nd at the end of the First Clime. The principal island was called K.lwa, and had three towns: K.lwa (the capital), M.nd and Knk. It is added that the inhabitants are brethren of those of Hind and Sind, but they have been either expelled or subjugated by the Zanj. Here the ancient Mydh seems to be confused with the Kilwa of the Somali coast.

The arrangement of the Climes in Biruni's Tafhīm, ed. Wright, 143-5, is somewhat different. Biruni begins the Sixth Clime with "Eastern Turks, such as Qay, Qun, etc." Marvazi quotes these rare names in his Chapter IX, §3, but does not introduce them into his list of the Climes. Altogether divergent is the description of I. Faqīh, 5-7, who is more dependent on Ptolemy, etc. (through Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmi, quoted ibid., p. 4?), and whose enumeration is accompanied by some general characteristics of the Climes.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Its author is usually supposed to have worked under Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33), but this assumption is by no means certain, as the astronomer's father, Muhammad b. al-Kathir, is said to have been employed under Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861), see Brockelmann, GAL. I, 221, and Supplement, I, 392.

<sup>2</sup> In I. Rusta's Sixth Clime Burjan follows Constantinople and evidently corresponds

also refers to the Bulghars. In the Seventh Clime, Burjan comes before the Slavs and probably also refers to the Bulghars. In the zone "beyond the Climes," after the Alan come al-Abar "the Avars," Burjān and the Slavs. Marvazi leaves out the Avars but keeps Burjān, which at this place may originally refer to the Burgundians, cf. I. Khurdādhbih, 92, 119, Mas'ūdī, Tanbih, 190, Hudūd, 419, 447.

3 Cf. on Arabic Climes, Honigmann, o.c., 112-83 (Ptolemaios und die Araber etc.).

§2 is the author's own conclusion, the influence of geographical surroundings being his favourite theme. In the chapter of the Persians (ff. IIa-I2b) the author quotes Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle to show that "the life of the inhabitants (of a country) depends on the character of their habitat" and that "the specific factor (akhaṣs al-ashyā) in a man, as in every animal, is the soil (turbatuhu) on which he develops, because the character of the soil conditions his own character."

§§3 and 5 announce §18, which describes the situation after the rise of the Qitay (K'itan). § 4 is of a general character. The story of the "blindness" of other nations must be old. A parallel to it is found in Abū Manṣūr Tha'ālibi's *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 127. The author lived 350–430/961–1038, and used Jayhānī, but is, in style at least, independent of Marvazī. As the "one-eyed nation" he quotes the Babylonians (ahl-Bābil) and not the Byzantines.

§§6 and 9 have a common background in the supposition that all the Chinese follow the law of Mānī, which indicates A.D. 843 as the terminus ante quem of the original report, v, i. §17. §9 looks like an uncritical repetition of an obsolete view.

§§7–12 are connected by the person of the narrator. As in §7,  $Y.nj\bar{u}r$  (Ho-nan-fu?, cf. §19) is mentioned as the capital of China, the merchant in question must have visited China after A.D. 907. The first person of "I met a merchant" apparently refers to Jayhānī, whose lifetime corresponds with this period, but as the first traces of the report (the block of wood, self-propelling carts, gambling) appear in Marvazī (cf. 'Aufi), we have to suppose that it was incorporated only in some later copies of Jayhānī's work.

§13. The Zoroastrian reformer Bihāfarīdh was executed by Abū Muslim in 131/748. The green silk shirt which he had brought from China was worn by him to prove his celestial origin, see Houtsma, Bihāfarīdh, in WZKM, III, 30–7, and E.I., and lately Gh. H. Sadighi, Les mouvements religieux iraniens, Paris, 1938, 113–131. No "previous" mention of Bihāfarīdh is found in Marvazī, but 'Aufī gives a pretty complete version of Bihāfarīdh's story, see Barthold, Turkestan, I, 93 (= No. 1624 in Nizāmu'd-dīn's list). He may have taken the details from a passage omitted in our copy of Marvazī, but it is possible that in this particular case he made direct use of Jayhānī's Masālik, cf. Nizāmu'd-dīn, 101–3, 249.

§§14–16 (plus §§26–28, and possibly §§17, 41, etc.) refer to the maritime region of China and form one stock of information. The person¹ responsible for it is much interested in all that pertains to commerce and displays a truly Arab vivacity of mind and love for the picturesque and the marvellous. In §14 Marvazī quotes some written source which he calls al-Akhbār, and which may be identical with "some Maritime Merchants" (ba'd al-tujjār al-baḥriyyīn) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perhaps several persons?

with Kitāb al-baḥr, quoted elsewhere (ff. 44a and 45a). The narrator, or narrators (cf. §14), had in view the situation in Khān-fū (Canton), where Muslims were in such force that in A.D. 758 they raided the city. In A.D. 879 many Muslims perished when Canton was taken by the rebel Huang-chao, see Barthold,  $Khānf\bar{u}$  in E.I.

- §14. The story of the eunuch and his five shirts is found in Abū Zayd Sīrāfī, who wrote an appendix to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, 74. It is quoted on the authority of an important and trustworthy merchant who sojourned in Khān-fū (sic). [Perhaps the Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, v.i. §29?] Cf. 'Aufī, No. 1965 (from Marvazi?).
- §15. On importations into China see Sulayman, 35 (minus amber) and 'Aufi, No. 1905. *Khutū* is repeated under §27, which points either to two sources or to the carelessness of the epitomist in summing up his material.
- §16. The story of the 'Alid intermediaries established on an island (near Canton?) is of clear Shī'a inspiration and its fluent style reflects the influence of some pious lore. The details about the destruction of snakes is to be connected with legends concerning 'Ali, "the slayer (lit. 'render') of the Serpent, or Dragon (Havdar-i hayya-dar," cf. H.-'A., §13, 2., and p. 282. There is nothing improbable about an early penetration of 'Alids into China. they played for Islam a role similar to that of the Nestorians for Christianity. According to the report found in the Fihrist, 344-5, after the execution of Abū Muslim (d. A.D. 755), one of his disciples Ishāq al-Turk carried on the extremist propaganda of the Abū-Muslimiya among the Turks of Transoxiana. Some said that he was a descendant of Imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī (killed in Gūzgān A.D. 743), and that he "fled from the Omayyads and traversed the country of the Turks."2 The first convert to Islam among Turkish rulers Satuq Boghra khan of Kāshghar (d. 344/955) professed the Shī'a. See Barthold, Turkestan, 199, Grenard, La légende de Satok Boghra, in J.A., Jan. 1900, p. 1-79; Marquart, Guwaini's Bericht uber die Bekehrung der Uiguren, 1912, 495; Blochet, La conquête des états nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale par les schiites, in Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, XXVV, 1926, pp. 3-131 (very disappointing). The story of the 'Alids is shortened in 'Aufi, No. 1965. More interesting is another echo found on Kāshghari's Map. Baldat al-'Alawiya, "the town of the 'Alids," is shown on it beyond Bish-baliq to the S.E. of the mountains (Altai?) from the northern side of which rises the Y.mār (Obi). Baldat al-nisā, "The Town of the Women," which figures in the same sector, increases the impression of a terra incognita. The only other name seen beyond the Town of the Alids,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V s p. 63

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mutahhar b. Tähir, IV, 63 (tr. IV, 60), says that there is a colony of descendants of Husayn b. 'Ali in Khotan, which according to his source (Jayhānī?) is a part of Tibet.

near the coast of the Ocean, is Jāfū, a mis-spelling of some Chinese name, possibly Khān-fū (Canton). Kāshghari must refer to the same colony of 'Alids as Marvazi (§16), but the time which elapsed since Marvazī's original source obscured the situation: the 'Alid settlement had grown into a Shī'a parallel to Prester John's kingdom. Three centuries later Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet, I, 59, removed the 'Alid colony still further east, to Corea (al-Shīlā).

- F. Grenard, Mission scientifique de Dutreuil du Rhins, 1898, II, 308–15, and Pelliot, Les Abdâl de Païnâp, J.A., 1907, janvier, 115–39, have described a curious community in Chinese Turkestan (near Cherchen and Kāshghar), speaking a dialect in which a predominantly Persian vocabulary is combined with Turkish grammar.¹ Both French explorers were inclined to see in the Abdāls "les descendants des chiites . . . qui apportèrent les premiers l'Islam en Kachgharie." Whatever the date of the installation of the Abdāls in Kashgharia they are a typical example of Persian-Shi'a infiltrations similar to that described in Marvazī's source.
- §17. For the item on Manichaeism as the religion of the Chinese, v.s. §§6, 9. The Uyghurs (on the Orkhon) were converted to Manichaeism by missionaries from China after A.D. 763, and soon became the official protectors of the creed. Their interventions in Chinese affairs provoked much ill-feeling and no sooner did the Uyghur kingdom fall (A.D. 840) than the Manichaeans in China were disestablished and persecuted (A.D. 843). Marvazī's source refers to the time when Manichaeism was openly preached in China, but at the same time it was the official religion of the Uyghurs also. Consequently when Marvazī speaks of the variety of creeds flourishing among the Uyghurs his source may be influenced by the state of affairs obtaining in the later Uyghur kingdom of Khocho, cf. Chavannes et Pelliot, Un traité manichéen, in J.A. 1913, I, 295–305, and a clear resumé in Grousset, L'Empire des steppes, 1939, pp. 173–6.
- §18. This paragraph announces §§19–25. The few introductory words about the Chinese having been masters of Transoxiana presuppose the use of a well informed source, for early Muslim historians are silent even on the momentous battle of A.D. 751, in which Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ inflicted a decisive defeat on the Chinese. Following Barthold's indication, Turkestan, p. 196, I have found a parallel record on paper in Samarqand in Tha'ālibī's Latā'if al-ma'ārif, who quotes al-Masālik wal-Mamālik.² Consequently this is one more

¹Cf. also A. von Le Coq, Die Abdāl, in Baessler-Archiv, 1912, II/5, pp. 221-8. ² Thaʻālibī, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 129: "the author of al-Masālik wal-Mamālik writes that, among the prisoners taken by Ziyād b. Ṣālih, there came from China to Samarqand some who (organized) the fabrication of paper there. Then this art increased and the custom persisted and paper became the staple merchandise of the people of Samarqand. . ." The Fihrist, 21, is much more vague: "it has been said (qīla) that artisans from China fabricated (paper) in Khorasan, similar to Chinese paper." Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik Thaʻālibi died circa 430/1038.

precious fact from Jayhānī's lost treasure and a link between 'A. Malik Tha'ālibī and Marvazī, both of whom wrote in Khorasan.

As regards the formation of three kingdoms in the Far East following the withdrawal of the Chinese from Turkestan, it is true that the Uyghurs succeeded to the Eastern Turks (T'u-küeh) on the Orkhon in 744, i.e. only a short time before the events in Transoxiana, but Marvazī's text has in view the later Uyghur kingdom of Qocho and Bish-balīq formed by the remnants of the Uyghur, after the occupation of the Orkhon by the Qirghiz (A.D. 840). The K'itan (Qitāy) proclaimed an independent kingdom in Manchuria and northern China only in A.D. 926, but their emancipation began much earlier. During the memorable year A.D. 751 they defeated a Chinese army sent against them, cf. Grousset, o.c., p. 181. Consequently the historical excursus of Marvazī's source (Jayhānī?) is not incorrect.

§§19-25, with the introductory §18, form one block and are the most valuable part of the chapter. It is probable that a part of the information on the lands to the east of Sha-chou is due to the ambassador from the emperor of Qitay who visited Ghaznī circa 418/1027, for it is immediately followed by the account of that embassy. This impression is strengthened by the fact that for the first time the same data, in a different arrangement, are quoted by Biruni in his al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī compiled shortly after 421/1030. Biruni's book on precious stones¹ contains a definite statement that he "interrogated the ambassadors who came from the Qitay-khan" on the value they attached to khutū (v.i. p. 83). In every way he must have taken a full advantage of the presence in Ghaznī of the rare guests from the Far East.<sup>2</sup> Biruni's short explanations of the names tally perfectly with Marvazī, but the latter gives many more details. Very probably there existed an official record of the interrogation of the ambassadors and a copy of it had reached Marv.<sup>3</sup>

Biruni's tables give the following co-ordinates in the Far East:4

Fifth Clime	Long.	Lat.
Twsm.t in Outer Tibet	110° 0′	39° 10′
Chīnānjkath, i.e. Qocho, residence of		
the Uyghur-khan	III 20	42 0
Sānjū (Sha-chou?), whence the road		
separates southwards to China	115 10	40 20
Qāmjū (Kan-chou)	116 5	39 o

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kitab al-jamāhir fi ma'rifat al-jawāhir, ed. by F. Krenkow, Haidarabad, 1355/1936, p. 208.

on his eagerness for knowledge, cf. his Şaydana, on how he obtained the Greek names of plants from a Greek who happened to visit Khwārazm, see Meyerhoff, Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Beruni, 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Close relations must have existed between Marv and Ghazni. <sup>7</sup> In 510/1117 Sanjar put Bahrām-shah on the throne of Ghazni.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I am using B.M. Or. 1997, which is not very correct, but as the tables are arranged in the order of increasing longitudes (and, in our particular case, of decreasing latitudes) the approximate results are reliable enough.

Third Clime T.ksīn (L.ksīn?) in the land of the	Lor	ng.	La	at.
Upper Turks	120	15	32	50
noblewoman''	129	40	31	50
Second Clime Y.njū, residence of the Faghfūr of				
China surnamed Taghmāj (sic)-khan Kūfū, a city larger than the capital of	125	0	22	0
Y.njū	127	O	21	
Utkīn Qitā, to the N.E. of China, its Lord	136	30	26	0
being Qitā-khan¹	158	40	21	40
First Clime				
Sh.rghūd, in Chinese $S.nq\bar{u}$ , which is	•			
Mahāchīn	155	О	15	0
Khān-fū, one of the gates $(abw\bar{a}b)$ of				
China, on a river Khān-jū, one of the gates, also on a	160	0	14	0
river	162	0	13	0
Beyond the First Clime				
Ḥāmt.rā,² one of the gates of China, and the estuary of its rivers Sīlā, at the extreme end of China to- wards the East; few people travelled	166	o	II	0
to it by sea	170	O	5	0

There is no doubt that Biruni calculated his co-ordinates approximately, i.e. from itineraries, and I am grateful to Dr. A. D. Thackeray, Assistant Director of the Solar Physics Observatory, Cambridge, and Dr. Besicovitch, Trinity College, who calculated for me the distances between the more important points in Biruni's catalogue.

		wines	Km.
Tūsmat—Kan-chou	 	327	526
Sha-chou—Kan-chou <sup>8</sup>	 	105	169
Sha-chou—T.ksīn	 	589	947:7
Sha-chou—Khatun-sïnï	 	1001	1610.6
Sha-chou—Y.njū	 	1393	2241.3
Kan-chou—T.ksīn	 	475	764
T.ksīn—Y.njū	 	1070	1722
T.ksīn—Kūfū	 	1200	1931
Y.njū—Kūfū	 	148	238
Kan-chou—Khatun-sini	 	900	1528

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In M. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud, 56: long. 113° 40', lat. 29° 40' (sic) is an obvious mistake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Possibly Ptolemy's 'Οττοροκόμρα (long. 166°; lat. 37° 15'), in Khuwarizmi Ottorāgārā (long. 149° 10'; lat. 37° 15'). Biruni is more faithful to Ptolemy.

<sup>3</sup> If "Shan-chou" is to be taken for Sha-chou the distance is entirely wrong for the

<sup>3</sup> If "Shan-chou" is to be taken for Sha-chou the distance is entirely wrong for the Chinese sources estimate the stretch Sha-chou—Kua-chou—Su-chou—Kan-chou at 1180 or 1316 li, i.e. 680 or 760 Km. Even as the crow flies, the distance is c. 525 Km. (G. Haloun). Gardizi counts between Sha-chou and Kan-chou 13 days, H.-'A., 229.

		Miles	Km.
Khatun-sïnï—Kūfū	• •	 <i>7</i> 66	1232.5
Khatun-sïnï—Ūtkīn		 575	925
Ūtkīn—Qitā	• • •	 1420	2253

- §19. The itinerary from Kāshghar to Sha-chou, along the southern line of oases of Chinese Turkestan is very brief. For the 14 days' journey between Kāshghar and Khotan the author quotes only Yarkand. Both the Hudūd, 260, and Gardīzī, 94, give the stages of this stretch and Gardizi enumerates exactly 14 of them. The common source is undoubtedly Jayhani. In the stretch Khotan-Sha-chou, K.rwya (Keriya)<sup>1</sup> is mentioned at a distance of 5 stages from Khotan; in the Hudūd (§9, 21) there are only some faint traces of this portion of the road.<sup>2</sup> The whole distance from Khotan to Sha-chou is 55 stages, but in the important passage quoted below under §43 it is taken as being two months. Sha-chou is known to Gardizi as the meeting place of roads from Qumul (in the Uyghur region) and the south, v.s. Biruni, under "Sānjū." Marvazi makes three roads start from Sha-chou.
- (a) ROAD TO CHINA. Contrary to the descriptions in the Hudūd and Gardizi, which have in mind the road to a point on the Yangtze, our source follows the road southwards, down to Kan-chou (Qām-jū) and then turns away eastwards to L.ksin (Biruni: T.ksin?), thence to reach the later capital of Y.njūr (Biruni: Y.njū).3 The distances Kan-chou—L-ksīn, 40 days, and thence to Y.njūr, "about" 40 days, seem to be exaggerated. Reckoning again 32 Km. per day's march, we obtain a distance of about 2500 Km., whereas the distance as the crow flies between Kan-chou and Ho-nan-fu hardly exceeds 1200 Km.4 According to Biruni, T.ksin was situated at approximately one-third of the way between Kan-chou and Y.nju, there being 764 Km. between Kan-chou and T.ksin, and 1603 Km. between the latter and Y.njū. If we content ourselves with this ratio and apply it to the actual distances on the modern maps, we may tentatively place L.ksin in the neighbourhood of Ning-hsia, which lies about 550 Km. from Sha-chou and 950 Km. from Ho-nan-fu (via Hsi-an-fu). Supposing that the itinerary is of the beginning of the tenth century (v.s. §§7-12) we have to think of the old administrative centre of the region Ling-chou (a short distance to the south of the later Ninghsia). The first part of L.k-sin /T.k-sin could be easily restored as

<sup>4</sup> Even if the text is to be understood in the sense that 40 days cover the distance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Biruni's Canon also K.rwyā (possibly assimilated to Karavyā "caraway"?). <sup>2</sup> Dutreuil de Rhins, Mission, II, 201, reckons from Käshghar to Yarkand 186 Kms.,

or 5 stages; thence to Khotan 300 Kms., or 8 stages; thence to Keriya 160 Kms., or 4 stages. Marvazi's average stage is consequently 32 Kms.

<sup>3</sup> The r of Y.njūr (which is also reflected in 'Aufi's H.j.r, Barthold, Turkestan, I,

<sup>98)</sup> seems to be superfluous. Marco Polo also adds r in a similar name Succiur for \*Suk-chou (now Su-chou).

Sha-chou—Ho-nan-fu the stretch would not exceed 1500 Km.

<sup>5</sup> Ning-hsia ("Tangut pacified") is a later name which occurs first A.D. 1288.

Under the Tangut (since A.D. 1020) it was called \*Hing-chou or \*Hing-k'ing-fu (G. Haloun).

\*Ling-, but sin- presents a difficulty since Chinese -chou would give  $-j\bar{u}$  in Arabic. During the period of the Five Dynasties Ling-chou could have been considered as the frontier town of the Emperor, see Herrmann, Atlas, 41.

A welcome supplement to our §7 is Biruni's statement that the second and larger city called Kūfū lay to the south-east of Y.njū.  $K\bar{u}fw\bar{a}/K\bar{u}f\bar{u}$  looks like a mis-spelling of Kwf.n to be identified with K'ai-fêng, the eastern capital of the Sung. The western capital was at that time Ho-nan-fu, which was then called Hsi-king, but during the period A.D. 907-23 Yung-chou. Our Y.njūr (\*Yun-jū) is a perfect Arabic equivalent of Yung-chou and a close indication of the date at which the original authority visited China. As another reference to Y.jūr is found in §7 in the report of a merchant who sojourned in China, we should attribute to him this part of the itinerary.<sup>2</sup> The K'itan ambassador who speaks of his contemporary Sung (A.D. 960-1279) with some haughtiness, must have avoided their capital. The period at which the capital was at Ho-nan-fu (Y.njūr), corresponds with the time when Jayhānī flourished, and it is natural to connect the item on Y.njūr with Jayhānī's work. Some difficulty lies in the fact that the Hudūd and Gardīzī, who used Jayhānī, mention Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) as the capital of China (cf. also §29),3 but we have reasons to believe that Jayhānī used side by side the works of his predecessors and the data collected by himself (v.s. p. 7).

Whatever the explanation of the name, the position of Y.njūr, as indicated by Bīrūnī (v.s. p. 69), corresponds to Ho-nan-fu and not to Hsi-an-fu. Our firm point is Kū-fū (\*Kū-f.n) \*K'ai-fêng. The distance (as the crow flies) between K'ai-fêng and Ho-nan-fu is about 145 miles (233 Km.), and between K'ai-fêng and Hsi-an-fu circa 320 miles (515 Kms.). The distance between Kū-fū and Y.njūr, as calculated by Dr. Thackeray from Biruni's co-ordinates, is 148 miles! The indication that Ku-fu was larger than Y.njūr is also important for under the Sung Ho-nan-fu had 233,280 inhabitants and K'ai-fêng 444,940 (though their areas were very much the same).4

(b) Road from Sha-chou to Yughur, i.e. to the Uyghur capital of Chīnānjkath (= Khocho), is described by Gardīzi, 92. The form Sūlm.n, which is also found in Biruni, is probably a misspelling for Solmï (or Sölmi), see Kāshghari, I, 103, and the Saka

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prof. Mullie quotes the *T'ai p'ing huan yū-ki*. Prof. Haloun has also tabulated for me the chronology of Chinese capitals. Ho-nan-fu enjoyed this distinction A.D. 904-7, 909-13 and 923-37, for the most of the time jointly with K'ai-feng-fu or with Hsi-an-fu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Note the opening paragraph of §19, which refers to travellers "on commercial or other business."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khumdān is quoted by Qudāma, 264, who largely depends on the original text of I. Khurdādhbih.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  King-chao-fu = Hsi-an-fu at the same period had 537,288 inhabitants, Sung-shih, ch. 85, p. 3 (Mullie).

transcription communicated to me by H. W. Bailey. On Kashghari's Map it is shown to the south of Qocho (=Khocho), contrary to Biruni's co-ordinates:

		Long.	Lat.
Chīnānjkath	 	III° 20′	42° 0′
Sūlm.n	 	113 0	43 0

according to which Sūlm.n lay to the N.E.E. of Khocho, apparently on the northern side of T'ien-shan.

(c) The description of a ROAD TO QITAY is of great significance for it reflects the rise of the Liao kingdom in Manchuria and Northern China. All the stages exactly correspond with the names quoted in Biruni's Canon, the authority for the route being apparently the Qitay embassy to Ghaznī of A.D. 1026.

As already suggested, Biruni's co-ordinates have only a relative value, as they must have been calculated from distances. They indicate a steady south-easterly direction of the road to Qitay, though a clear easterly direction would be expected. A comparison of Biruni's and Marvazi's distances indicates a considerable divergence at the third stretch:

	Biruni	Biruni Marvazi	
	Km.	Days	Km.
Sha-chou—Khatun-sïnï	 circa 1610	2 months	1920
thence to Utkin	 925	I month	960
thence to Ujam	 2250	I month	960

It is clearly stated in §19 that the road to Qitay branches off from Sājū (\*Sha-chou), but in §20 the initial (?) point is called Sānjū. Bīrūnī's MS. gives something like Miyānjū (\*Sānjū), but leaves no doubt as to its identity with Sājū (\*Śha-chou). More complicated is the case of Kāshghari who, I, 349, says "Shanjū, a township on the way to Upper China, more correctly Shānjū." It is possible that al-Ṣīn al-a'lā stands here for Qitāy, but is the name, so carefully spelt out, distinct from Sājū? The assimilation of the spellings Shanjū and Shānjū may be on the responsibility of the author, who, by the way, does not mention Sājū (Sha-chou). On Kāshghari's Map Shānjū is shown as continuing the line Kāshghar-Khotan-Cherchen, but is separated from the latter by a range of mountains (K'un-lun, Altin-tagh?). As on the other hand this Shānjū begins a line of four towns stretching southwards, it is an indication in favour of its identity with Sha-chou. Some confusion may be accounted for by the direction of the Altin-tagh, which near Charkhlik forms a promontory screening Cherchen from Sha-chou. Pelliot, T'oung-Pao, 1936, p. 363, dentifies Kāshghari's Shānjū with Shan-chou lying on the Hsin-ning river to the west of Lan-chou. This out-of-the-way place is ill-fitted for the position of a terminus (or even a stage) on the road to "Upper China." Kāshghari might have taken some interest in Shan-chou in connection with the presence of the Sari-Yughurs in its neighbourhood (?), but the must have confused Shanjū with the Sājū (\*Shājū) of the Islegeographers.

From §20 it is clear that the encampment of AL-SHĀRIYA1 reached by travellers one-and-a-half months before arriving Khatun-sini. Nothing whatever is known about this people, u they are the Sari-Yughurs, who after the fall of the Uyghur king in Mongolia, A.D. 840, became settled in the region of Kan-c A Samanid embassy seems to have visited their king Qālī Shakhir about 381/941. Not until A.D. 1029 did the Ye Yughurs succumb to the Tangut supremacy, see Bretschne Med. researches, I, 243, and H.-A., 227, 236, 264-5. According Marvazi, al-Shāriya (\*Sarī) were called after one of their c Bāsm.l. This name is a precious indication, for it can refer on the Basmil (in Chinese Pa-si-mi), a Turkish tribe closely associ with the Uyghurs. According to Chinese sources, the Ba formed the tenth division of the Uyghurs. A.D. 742 the Ba assisted the Uyghurs in destroying the old Turkish (Toquz-G empire in Mongolia. Later the Uyghurs attacked their allie their homes near Bish-balïq, but it is very likely that numerous of Basmil remained in the Uyghur federation and shared the of its survivors when 15 aymags of the latter were led to Kanby P'ang-t'e-le (\*tegin), see H.-A., 264, 266, 272, 285. The Yughurs were Manichaeans (later, Buddhists) and as such could have failed to be alarmed by the advance of any militant chi Their fear of Islam may refer to the rise in Chinese Turkestan of Qara-khanid dynasty. The first of this family to be converte Islam was Satuq-Boghra khan. He is said to have died in 344/ but only towards the very end of the century did the Kash branch of the family push its conquests into the southern par Chinese Turkestan, which tallies well with Marvazi's report H.-'A., 234, 280.

Al-Shāriya might have been met on the road by the K embassy. It is also possible that the Basmīl clan was some connected with Shan-chou, while the latter name became conf with Sha-chou. If the two weeks' distance (32 Km. × 14 = 448 I is to be reckoned from Shan-chou, the encampment of the Ba must be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Yellow river Alashan or Ordos. Should the distance be reckoned from Sha-c they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the Etsina-ghol.

Maḥmūd Kāshghari refers to a Qatun-sīnī "between Tangut China," III, 240, and to Ötükän, "in the Tatar steppe near Uyghur," I, 123. Chinese sources know three places ca K'o-tun-ch'êng: (a) one on the Etsina-ghol (= Kāshghari, III, 2 (b) one in Mongolia on the Orkhon, 3000 li from the "UResidence" (Pelliot, J.A., April, 1920, 174, places it at the conflu

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On another group of this name see Chap. IX, §3C.

of the Orkhon with the Kökshin-Orkhon); (c) and one near the northern bend of the Yellow river.1 Prof. Mullie most kindly supplied me with an abstract of the sources. According to the T'ang-shu a place called Tsi-sai-kiun, "properly K'o-tun-ch'eng," existed in the eighth century at some distance to the west of Kueihua-chêng in the north-western part of the Urat banner. The town is still mentioned under the Liao and even under the Kin (Ho-tung-kuan for \*K'o-tung-kuan). This place, situated half-way between Sha-chou and the Liao capital (v.i.), in the zone very likely lying on the ambassador's way, seems to correspond to Marvazi's Khatun-sin, if only "Khatun's tomb" = Khatun's chêng ("wall, walled town").

In Arabic script Utkīn looks very much like the Turkish Ötükän (Kāshghari:  $\overline{U}tk.n$ ?), but a visit to the famous Ötükän-yish, the residence of the Eastern Turkish qaghan, would have taken the ambassador far out of his direct road.2 The authorities seem to agree in placing Ötükän somewhere in the Hangai (Khangay) range to the south of the upper Orkhon, see Thomsen, Inscr. de l'Orkhon, 1896, p. 152; Melioransky, Zap. V. O., XII, p. 84; Thomsen, ZDMG, 78, 1924, p. 123; cf. Herrmann, Atlas of China, p. 40. Kāshghari, on his Map, is apparently wrong in placing his Ötükän somewhere near the source of the Irtish (?). Prof. Mullie tells me that, according to the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 41, p. 4r, the army of the town of Feng-sheng-chou, situated east of Ta-t'ung (now Chua-lu-hsien, in Hopei) was called Wu-ting-kiun, which might be compared with \*Utikin. I gratefully place this indication on record.3 Biruni's co-ordinates suggest for Utkin a southerly bend of 5° 50' in comparison with Khatun-sini.

The name of the terminal point of the itinerary is transmitted in Marvazi as UIAM, whereas Biruni refers indefinitely to the "residence of the Qita-khan." Prof. Mullie's opinion was particularly valuable on this point as he had explored in person the residences of the Liao, see Les anciennes villes de l'empire des Grands Liao, in T'oung-Pao, 1922, p. 105. He thinks that the ambassador most probably had in mind the Upper Capital, called in Chinese Lin-huang-fu and situated on the right bank of the river Ulji-müren, in the Mongol principality of Barin (in Mongolian Boro-khoto, "The Brown City"). The perimeter of Ujam was 2 farsakhs, i.e. II-I2 Kms., while that of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Built A.D. 749 near the Ola range, south-east of the present Wu-yüan, i.e. near the ancient T'ien-tê-chün (M. Polo: Tenduc). A fourth Ho-tung-ch'êng lay near the Kerulen, 1700 li from the "Upper Residence" (G. Haloun).

<sup>2</sup> Unless the three years which it took him to arrive in Ghazni are accounted for

by such great detours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A grim idea would be that the ambassador intentionally embroiled the facts, cf. §21. He may have mentioned Khatun-sini as a more or less known term and Otkin ((Ötükän) as a place close to the theatre of the recent operations of the Liao in Northern Mongolia, cf. a quotation from the *Liao-shih* (under A.D. 1012) in Marquart, Komanen, 194-5.

Boro-khoto was 7-8 Kms., but jointly with the southern town about 10 Kms.

The form  $\overline{U}jam$  might be shaped into something like \* $L\bar{u}kham$  (?), as an approach to the Chinese form, but the weak point is that the ambassador must have used its native name which is not otherwise attested. Very important is the statement that it is 7 days distant from the sea. According to Prof. Mullie, the distance from Borokhoto to Kin-hsien would be covered post haste in 7 days, but not by caravan. As the stages in our source are rather small (v.s. p. 70) this affords some difficulty in an important detail. In Biruni the road between Utkin and the Oita capital bends another 4° 50' southwards. His distance in a straight line seems very much exaggerated and would even exceed the distance between Ötügän

(in Khingai) and the Liao territory.

It is also strange that Biruni's table gives "Qita" without any accompanying term equivalent to "city, capital," while Marvazi qualifies *Ujam* as *mamlaka*, "a kingdom" (?). The description of Ujam suggests a "royal camp" rather than a city, and here is an important quotation from the Liao-shih, Ch. 34, p. 4r, and K'i-tankuo-chih, Ch. 23, p. 3r, in Prof. Mullie's translation: "Chaque fois que les K'itan font des incursions au sud (i.e. en Chine), leurs troupes ne comptent pas moins de 100,000 (hommes). Quand le chef de l'état entre dans les frontières (de Chine), les fantassins, les cavaliers et les tentes sur chariots ne suivent pas les chemins réguliers. D'est à ouest, ensemble, ils marchent en avant de la grande tente du chef. . . Quand le chef des barbares sonne le cor (pour donner le signal), les troupes s'arrêtent aussitôt et entourent le Koung-lou (Leao-che: la tente impériale). Depuis le voisinage (de la tente) jusqu'au loin ils plient des branches d'arbres, les courbent en koung-tze-p'ou et ne prennent pas la precaution d'établir (une enceinte de) fossés et de palissades ou un camp de lances." Kung-tzŭ-p'u is explained in the same chapter of the Liao-shih as follows: "Quand les chevaux de l'armee des Leao (?) sont au repos, on ne fait pas de fossée de camp, (mais) on plie des branches d'arbre en (forme d') arc pour former ainsi un lieu de rassemblement. Lorsque des ambassadeurs des divers états arrivent (en territoire Leao) on place au bord de la route des arcs de branches d'arbre, qui font fonction de barrière." This is an illuminating parallel to Marvazi's text!

The paragraph on the nation living "among water and thin mud" called  $\hat{S}.nq\bar{u}$  and corresponding to Mahāchīn undoubtedly refers to the Sung state \*Sung-kuo (A.D. 960-1279).2 No one except a Liao

<sup>2</sup> Abul-Ḥasan Bayhaqi, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (A.D. 1164), Tehran 1938, p. 18, refers to S.nqū as the great town (!) of Mahāchīn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Personally I should prefer the Central residence which lay much nearer to the sea (under 300 Kms. as the crow flies), on the left bank of the Lokhan-pira, a southern tributary of the Shara-muren, cf. Chavannes, Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan, J.A., mai 1897, 377-411. The suggested restoration of Ojam as \*Lūkham, Lokham would acquire more importance in comparison with Lokhan.

ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name  $Sh.rgh\bar{u}l$  must be a K'itan term, very welcome in view of the meagreness of the K'itan vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are  $Sh.rgh\bar{u}d$ , in the  $Qan\bar{u}n$ , and  $Sh.rgh\bar{u}r^1$  in the  $Jaw\bar{a}hir$ , 236: "it is reported that in  $Sh.rgh\bar{u}r$  there is a spring which is the personal property of its ruler the Khān. No one can approach it. The Khān sweeps (rakes?) it every year and extracts from it much gold." Biruni also refers (ibid., Annex 7) to the "small sea" (buhayra?) of Sh.rghūr lying beyond China (fauqa al-Sin), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. H.-'A., 179.

§§22-25. A record of an embassy from Qitā and Yughur to Sultan Maḥmūd is found in Gardīzī under the year 417/1026: "Ambassadors came from the Qitā-khan and the Yyghur-khan to Amīr Maḥmūd and brought good messages and reported the readiness (of the said kings?) to place themselves at his service. They prayed (saying) 'we want good relations between us.' Amir Maḥmūd gave orders that they should be received honourably, but then he answered their messages saying: 'we are Muslims and you are unbelievers; it is not seemly that we give our sisters and daughters to you. If you become Muslims the matter will be considered,' and he dismissed the ambassadors honourably."<sup>2</sup>

Ibn al-Muhannā misses the point of Marvazi's report, when he says that the ambassadors were sent by the lords "of China and the Turks," see Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 89. Only the original of Marvazi's work enables us to appreciate the importance of the event.

Marvazi gives the date of the embassy as 418/1027, but the year of the Mouse in which the letter of the emperor of Qitāy is said to have been written corresponds to 1024, as pointed out by Barthold.<sup>3</sup> We have to admit then that the ambassador Q.ltunkā's westward journey took from three to four years owing perhaps to some detours

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the final element compare the Mongolian plural in -d, -ūd!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The text in Barthold, Turkestan, I, 17, and Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazim, 87. The passage has been unfortunate in its interpreters, see Raverty, Tabaqāt, 905 (where the two khans are mistaken for brothers of the Qara-khanid Qadir khan); Barthold, Turkestan, Engl. transl., 286 (\*Qitā mis-read as Qayā); M. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud, 57 (the reading is right, but the identification of Qitā with Kuchā in Chinese Turkestan is unfortunate). Even Marquart, who closely scanned Barthold's texts, did not suggest any correction. In his lectures delivered in Istanbul in 1926 and published in German translation by Menzel in 1935, under the title Zwōlf Vorlesungen, Barthold says, pp. 88-9; "Nach der Erzählung des Gardīzī kamen im Jahre 1026 die Gesandten von zwei türkischen Chanen zu Maḥmūd (es werden ihre Titel angeführt deren Lesung . . . nicht ganz sicher festgestellt werden kann)." On Ibn Muhannā's quotation from Marvazi Barthold remarks: "die neue Quelle gibt folglich keine neuen Nachrichten uber die Gesandtschaft der zwei Chane und bringt nur eine chronologische Unklarheit hinein."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> More exactly the year covers the period of 12 February, 1024, to 30 January, 1025 (S. H. Taqizadeh). The other Mouse years were 1012 and 1036. The latter is out of the question as Maḥmūd died on 30th April, 1030, and 1012 would imply too great a mistake on the part of Gardīzī and Marvazi.

or the unsettled condition of the roads to which the Yughur-khan refers. From the Yughur-khan's letter we only learn that it was written in the fifth month (\*Beshinj ay?) without indication of the year. The reference to Mahmud's conquests in India is naturally too vague, for his victorious campaigns extended over a period from A.D. 1000 to 1027. By 1024, at any rate, the rajas of Gwalior and Kālinjar had submitted and Mahmūd's empire had reached its utmost limits. Another fact may have had considerable repercussions in Central Asia: after a long series of struggles with the Qara-khanids, Mahmud established peace with the representative of the Kāshghar branch, Qadīr khan, whom he met in person at Samarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazim, o.c., 55. To seal this friendship Mahmud betrothed his daughter to Qadir's son, Yaghantegin. The news must have been rapidly circulated in Chinese Turkestan and may have induced the opponents (v. i.) of the Qarakhanids to seek similar guarantees from the mighty Ghaznavid. Maḥmūd's answer (v.s. Gardīzī) leaves no doubt that some overtures in this sense were made to him by the infidel ambassadors.

The Qitāy (in Chinese K'itan) empire, which was founded by Ye-lü Apaoki in 916, and officially proclaimed in 926, comprised Southern Manchuria¹ and Northern China up to Peking. The date of the embassy falls in the long reign of the emperor Sheng-Tsung (983–1031) whose activities in the west were very conspicuous. In 1009–10 his high commissioner temporarily subdued Kan-chou and Su-chou and about 1017 a Qitay expedition was launched against Chinese Turkestan and Semirechye.² The embassy to Ghaznī throws new light on the Qitay diplomacy in Central Asia. A century later (A.D. 1124), after the Qitay dynasty had been crushed by the Tunguz dynasty of Kin, an energetic scion of the Qitay, Ye-lü Ta-shi, founded a new empire in Semirechye and the neighbouring regions. To the series of events foreshadowing this issue, we must now add \*Qul-tonga's mission of A.D. 1027.

The identification of the Yughur-khan whom Sheng-tsung requested to speed on Qul-tonga to Ghazni is a difficult question. There were two Uyghur principalities, the northern one in Khocho and Bish-baliq, in the eastern part of Tien-shan, and the southern one, in the region of Kan-su, which usually went by the name of Sarī-Yughur ('Yellow Uyghurs''). The history of these later branches is still obscure. Both kingdoms had relations with

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The names of the river Liao-ho, Liao-tun, etc., are traces of the dynasty, called Liao in Chinese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It was repulsed by the Qara-khanid prince of Kashghar, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 279, and *Kara-Khitāy* in *E.I.* There seems to be no record of the expedition in Chinese sources (G. Haloun).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See H.-'Ā., 226, 271. The "Fair-haired Uyghurs" in the region of Tsaidam are mentioned for the first time towards A.D. 1081-3 (Haloun). Presumably the appellation was of a much older origin. On the term Sa-li Wey-wu-rh (Sarī Uyghur) used in 1226, see Bretschneider, I, 263. Cf. also Chap. IX, §3 (al-Shāriya).

K'itans, but the latter seem to have attached more importance to the Kan-chou branch. When the founder of the dynasty pushed back the Khirkhiz from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to re-occupy his fathers' home, but this proposal proved unacceptable. In 1009-10 the K'itan high commissioner attacked Kan-chou and subdued the khan Ye-la-li, although the Uyghurs soon recovered their rights. The position of the Yellow Uyghurs between their eastern neighbours of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) and the Muslim Qara-khanids in the west was precarious. In 1028 the Tangut occupied Kan-chou, Bretschneider, I, 243, and by 1035 had spread their domination<sup>2</sup> to Sha-chou (Haloun).

This outline makes it possible that the report on the embassy of 1025 had in view the khan of Kan-chou, towards whom the emperor of Qitay adopts a respectful but patronising attitude.3 There are some other indirect arguments in favour of this hypothesis. The khans of Bishbaliq had the honourable title of *idiqut*, which they had inherited from the Basmil, their predecessors in the region.4 It would be strange if the khan had omitted his distinctive title in an official letter. Most of the known idiquts bore the name of Arslan, and our sources (admittedly very scanty) do not mention any such princely names as Qadir and Chaghri, see Bretschneider, o.c., Caferoğlu, Sözlük, 42, 123. On the contrary, in Kan-su, the name of the khan Qalin b. al-Shakhir, quoted by Mis'ar b. Muhalhil, seems to be \*Qalin b. Chaqir (a possible variation of Chaghri). The name Chaghri occurs also in the Khotanese texts referring to Kan-su (H. W. Bailey). Even the confusion in Bīrūnī and Marvazi of Sha-chou with Shan-chou (v.s. p. 72) might be a hint in favour of Kan-su. The khan of this region, on the eve of the fall of his kingdom, was undoubtedly anxious to secure any help from outside and could reasonably hope that, at least against the Qara-khanids, Mahmūd might give him the necessary support.<sup>5</sup>

The original letters of the two khans must have been in Turkish. Says Kāshghari, I, 29: "The people of Māchīn and Chīn have a separate language. In spite of it, their natives excel in Turkish and their letters to us are written in Turkish (bi-khatt al-turkiyya)." As yet no specimen of royal or diplomatic correspondence in Turkish seems to be available, but the Arabic translation of the letters give some idea of the usage. Such expressions, as "upon the face of this wide earth" and the introductory formulas sound Turkish.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fact was referred to by Ye-lü Ta-shi when in 1123 he wished to secure the friendship of the khan of Kan-chou. The latter paid him homage and declared himself his vassal, Bretschneider, I, 214.

<sup>Probably only their suzerainty, see above note.
See the text: "we have ordered Qadir-khan."
Juvayni, I, 32; Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 163, says that the title was assumed dar în ākhira, but he possibly means by that "since their arrival in Khocho."</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> As against these considerations can be quoted that in §19B (as also in Biruni's Canon) Khocho is called "the city of the Yughur-khan," although it is possible that this part of the itinerary goes up to an earlier source (Jayhānī).

In comparison with the Uyghur 'an salāmatinā, the Qitay formula can hardly be 'an salāmihi. More likely it is to be read 'an salāmati (of so-and-so) and is meant to be completed by the name of the khan. Very probably the latter was separately inscribed at the top of the missive. The regular practice of Mongol and Timurid times was to insert in the text a "tick" as a reference to the king's name. See the decree of the īlkhān Abū-Sa'īd in Barthold, Nadpis.. Manuche, 1911, p. 5, and Timur's letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr., VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, Bīst-maqāla, Bombay, 1928, 44.

The question of the titles used in the letters is of great interest. The "lord of Oitay" only refers to the power given him by Heaven<sup>1</sup> over numerous kingdoms and tribes and calls the "amirs" of the neighbourhood his "nephews." The lord of the Yughurs calls himself "Exalted Il.k Yughur-khan," which may reflect the original Ulugh Ilig found in the Uyghur texts of Turfan in the sense of "Exalted King," see reference in Bang-Gabain, Analitischer Index, 1931, 21.2 Sultan Maḥmūd is properly addressed ("Sultān") in the second letter, but in the first he is given the astonishing title of "amir of Khorāsān Maḥmūd Qarā-khān." The translator must have preserved it as a curio. "Amir of Khorasan" is quite respectful in itself, but, after all his victories, Mahmud had considerably outgrown the rank of the Samanids.3 The addition of "Qara-khan" after the name is quite unexpected and might suggest that the Qitay emperor had somehow confused Mahmud with his Qara-khanid rivals.4 However, Marvazi himself affirms (Chap. XIII, §7) that "whenever the Turks wished to honour a king they addressed him as Qara-khan''!

The presents of the Qitay emperor were such as might be expected from a Far Eastern ruler. Among the names of the textiles,  $khw\bar{\imath}dh$ ,  $zh\bar{u}nk\bar{\imath}$ ,  $k.nz\bar{\imath}$  and  $sh.k.rd\bar{\imath}$ , only the first and the last one seem to be of Iranian origin; the two middle ones sound Chinese (dzun-ki, tsung-ki?). The furs are of the usual "northern" kind; yaqu or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare the original formula in old Turkish which is Tängri-dä qut bulmīsh, "he who has found majesty through the Heaven (God)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A curious use of the title is reported in Raudat al-Ṣafā: Alp Arslan while appointing Nizām al-mulk to be the atabeg of his son Malik-shāh decreed that he should be called \$\overline{ll.k.va-Atā}\$ Khwāja, see Khwāndamīr, Dastūr al-vuzarā, Tehran, 1317, p. 156.

called \$I.k.va-Atā Khwāja, see Khwāndamīr, Dastūr al-vuzarā, Tehran, 1317, p. 156.

3 \$H.-\bar{A}.\$ 19a (tr. 102): "the \$m\bar{x}\$ of Khorasan resides at Bukhara."

4 V. V. Grigoriev is responsible for the introduction of the term "Qara-khanids." In Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54, "Qarā-khān" seems to be a mere slip for the well-known title Boghrā (Boqrā) borne by the first khan converted to Islam (Q.rā instead of B.qrā) and many of his successors. However, in the document from Yarkand (circa A.D. 1100), published by Barthold in the \$BSOS\$, 1923, III/1, p. 153, the contemporary king is called "king of the East and China, Tafghāch Bughrā Qarā-khāqān Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā-khāqān." In the \$E.I. Barthold described the dynasty under \$Il\bar{a}khan\$ (Ilig khan?). Abul-Ḥasan Bayhaqi, \$T\bar{a}rikh-i Bayhaq\$, ed. Tehran, 1317, p. 69, calls the conqueror of the Samanid kingdom \$\bar{a}lak al-kh\bar{a}n\$ (?). However, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the titles \$khan\$ and \$ilak\$ belonged to different branches of the family, see Abul-Fadl Bayhaqi, 844, cf. Barthold, \$Turkestan\$, 274-8.

yaghu is a Turkish term for "a pelisse of Siberian type with the fur outside," Radloff, Versuch, III, 141. The musk could be of Chinese origin, though Mas'ūdī, Murūj. I, 353, admits that Chinese musk is inferior to that of Tibet. The sending of messengers with arrows is a well-known Far Eastern custom. Pelliot, T'oung-Pao, 1930, 27, says that it is attested for the Tibetans at the T'ang epoch. Barthold, Turkestan, 383, quotes it for the Chinese dynasty of Kin (of Tunguz origin). In our source the practice is confirmed as regards the K'itans and Uvghurs.

The name of the Qitay envoy was Q.lt.nkā. No great importance can be attached to the vocalisation Qalitunkā, but the complex (\*Oul-tonga?) sounds Turkish. The Oitay emperor may have employed an Uyghur for the mission to Western Lands. The other envoy's name,  $Q\bar{a}sh\bar{i}$ , is attested in Mongol times. According to Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, 7, one of Ögedey's sons was called Qāshī because he was born at the time when Chengiz khan comquered "the country (vilāyat) of Qāshī, which is now called Tangqut." The Turkish habit of giving names after countries and towns is well known (Urus, Baghdad, Dimishq).

§25. The explanation which Marvazi gives of the animal cycle of twelve years employed in Central Asia suggests that the system was little known at Ghaznī in 418/1027, and even under the Seljuks in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. Less astonishing was the need of explanations on the part of Kāshghari, I, 1076-7. Even in the fifteenth century, Sayyid Jamāl al-din Ibn Muhannā (d. 823/ 1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon, refers to Marvazi: "Know that the Turks compute time by calling each year by the name of an animal, as will be mentioned, so that twelve years pass under (the names of) twelve animals. For example, when a child is born it is said that he was born in the year of such-and-such an animal, and when his life reaches that year again (i.e. a similarly named year) he has completed twelve years, and so forth. In the book Kitāb al-ḥayawān, composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabīb al-Marvazī, who described therein the countries of China and the Turks, he gives a translation of the letters (asāmī?, "names"), which the Lords of China (Sin) and the Turks wrote to Sultan Maḥmūd in 418, the date being given as the fifth month of the year of the Mouse. He also records the order of years and animals in the following way:

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The year of the Mouse
                           Sichqan-yili
                           Sighir
                Leopard
                           Pars
                        or Qaplan
                        or (Ar)slan ,,
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hilyat al-insān, first edited by P. M. Melioransky, Arab-filolog, SPb. 1900, and later (with the author's real name) by Kilisli Rif'at, Istanbul 1338-40. The passage is complete in Melioransky, pp. 041-042, but truncated in the Turkish edition.

The	year	of	the	Hare	Tavishghan-y	ïlï
	,,	,,		Fish	Baligh	,,
	,,	,,		Snake	Yïlan	,,
	,,	,,		Horse	At	,,
	,,	,,		Sheep	Qoyïn	,,
	,,	,,		Monkey	Bichin	,,
	,,	,,		Hen	Taquq	,,
	,,	,,		$\operatorname{Dog}$		,,
	,,	,,		Hog	Donghuz	,,

And one often sees this (system) in the calendars of Turkish kings, and especially (in) the computation of time of this mighty Mongolian state. They date according to this system which they have taken  $(n\bar{a}qil\bar{b}h\bar{a})$  from the histories of the Uyghurs (or Oghuz?) and their ancient books."

Among the nations using the animal cycle Marvazi refers to the Khotanese, possibly even to the use in the old Khotanese (Saka) language. H. W. Bailey has found a complete list of the twelve years in Khotanese, see *BSOS*, VIII/4, 1937, pp. 923–30 (he also quotes the names in Soghdian, Krorayina Prakrit and Kuchean).

The origin of the twelve years' cycle has been discussed many times and for comparative purposes it will suffice to quote the series as given in Turkish by Kāshghari (column 1), in Mongolian and Persian by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, passim (columns II and III) and in Turkish, as in the 'Alam-ārā, and still in use in Persia (column IV):

sïchghan	qulquna	mūsh	sïchqan
ud	hüker	gāv	ud
bars	pars	yūz	bars
tavïshghan	tulay	khargūsh	tushqan
nāk	luy	azhdarhā	luy
yïlan	mogha	mār	ïlan
yund	morin	asp	yunt
qoy	qonin	gūsfand	qoy
bijin	bichin	būzīna	pichi
taqaghu	daqiqu	murgh	takhaqu
it	noqay	sag	it
tonguz	qaqa	khūg	tonguz

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for "dragon" either Indian  $n\bar{a}ga$  or Chinese luy (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original lung; Chavannes, Le cycle des douze animaux, in T'oung-Pao, 1900, 52). Kāshghari, I, 289, explains  $n\bar{a}k$  as "a crocodile"  $(al\text{-}tims\bar{a}h)$ , and additionally, III, 116, as "a (large) snake"  $(al\text{-}thu'b\bar{a}n)$ . Marvazi undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form  $l.bn\bar{a}t$   $al\text{-}m\bar{a}$ " is obviously wrong. By sacrificing the initial l we might read  $ban\bar{a}t$   $al\text{-}m\bar{a}$ "  $(filiae\ aquae)$ . In a verse of al-Muthallim b. Riyāh al-Murrī,  $Ham\bar{a}sa$ , ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with "the clamour  $(siv\bar{a}h)$  of hungry  $ban\bar{a}t$   $al\text{-}m\bar{a}$ ".

Tibrīzī in his commentary says that some explain this term as "aquatic birds" and some as "frogs," neither of which explanations suits the twelve year cycle. Damīrī, Hayāt al-hayawān, I, 196, explains this term as "fishes in the sea of Rūm, resembling women and having (long) hair," which sounds like sirens. Even Ibn Muhannā was unable to understand Marvazi's form for which he substituted samak = balīq, though no "Year of the Fish" is known either. [Cf. Addenda, p. 161].

It appears then that the restoration of the term as \*banāt al-mā' is of no help and that the initial element of l.bnāt should be taken into account. In view of the parallels in our lists (nāk, lūy, azhdarhā) I would restore Marvazi's l.bnāt al-mā' as thu'bān al-mā', "The Water Serpent," which interpretation gives a satisfactory meaning and is quite plausible from the palaeographic point of view. Cf. Arabic text, p. 921.

§§26-28 are based on the old accounts of Arab mariners (v.s. p. 63) and have many points in common with "Sulaymān," which is a collective name covering a collection of early ninth century reports. Marvazi complements Sulaymān in several instances.

§§26. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Baṣra and Sīrāf, as attested by I. Khurdādhbih's list of ports of call, pp. 61–9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, On P'u Shou-kêng, in Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, 1–79 (an excellent general introduction in which recent investigation is summed up) and No. 7, 1935, 1–104. Lūqīn (or better, \*Lū-fīn) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi, Kuwabara, 1928, 15. Khān-fū is now generally recognized as Canton, ibid., 11. Muslim traders possessed a very good knowledge of the situation in this port. Sulaymān, p. 14, says that the king of China invested a Muslim with the administration of the colony of his co-religionists, a fact confirmed by Chinese sources, Kuwabara, 41. The interdiction of the export of Chinese slaves is differently formulated in §38, which suggests the existence of two separate reports.

§27 continues the description of Canton and contains more details than the other early sources.  $Khut\bar{u}$ , "rhinoceros horn," had been mentioned above in §15. Here its Chinese name  $bish\bar{a}n$  is added, which Sulaymān, 31, takes for the name of the animal itself. Reinaud already recognized the identity of the term with Sanscrit  $vis\bar{a}na$  "horn," which in Chinese sounds p'i-sha-na. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, BSOS, X/I, 68, it is said that the specific term for rhinoceros horn is basan. Should we read in Arabic \* $bash\bar{a}n$ , this form may hail from Champa (in Arabic \$anf), i.e. the present-day Annam, where there existed a Muslim colony, see H-A., 240.

Sinologists identify khutū with the Chinese term ku-tu-si, which refers to walrus and narwhal ivory and not to rhinoceros-horn, see

Laufer and Pelliot in T'oung-Pao, 1913, 315-70, and Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 1919, 565. Whatever the use of the term in China, it is certain that Muslims apply their (Turkish?) term khutū to the horn of an animal which is differently identified. Vullers, Lexicon, I, 650, quotes seven various definitions of the khutū ("dentes animalis cuiusdam" coming at the last place). For Biruni khutū is "a frontal bone of a bull in the country of Khirkhiz," Der Islam, II, 1911, 345-58; more usually, as in our text, khutū is taken for a synonym of b.shān (rhinoceros horn). In Chap. XV, §3 (on northern seas), Marvazi refers to a fish "whose tooth is used in setting knives," but does not call it khutū.

The title of the Governor's representative fāsām must be restored \*fā-shām, to suit Chinese fan-chang, "the foreign head-man." "In the foreign quarter in Kuang-chou reside all the people from beyond the seas. A fan-chang is appointed over them and he has charge of all public matters connected with them. He makes it his special duty to urge the foreign traders to send in tribute," Hirth and Rockhill, Chan Ju-kua, p. 17. Kuwabara, 41, thinks that Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82), has in view precisely such a "foreign head-man," but the Chinese term appears only in Marvazi.

Our text is much more explicit on "the last ship of the season" than Sulaymān, 36. With regard to the monsoon Kuwabara writes, 36: "The ships from the southern seas came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon, so that the half-year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports." The foreigners went on their homeward voyage in winter, but the expeditions of the Arab traders usually took two years. Sulaymān, 36, confirms that the entrance duty was 30 per cent.

§28 on Chinese customs is a natural continuation of §§26 and 27 (cf. also §§37–39). The data on the poll-tax (in Chinese ting-k'ou-shui), old age pensions and education of orphans follow Sulaymān, 41, 47. On the delay of burials, funeral ceremonies and the conservation of corpses, see *ibid.*, 37, with some difference in details. Similar items are found in Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 208, Muṭahhar, IV, 19, and al-Fihrist, 350.

On the property of deceased foreigners Kuwabara, 78, quotes an Imperial edict of A.D. III4, according to which the belongings of the foreign trader "who had come to China and lived for five (!) generations . . . shall be taken charge of at the trading ships offices, according to the laws of extinct families."

The reference to the registration of courtesans is much more developed in Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 69). The concluding sentence is of a general character and cannot be connected with the courtesans alone. The sense is evidently: "all these details (i.e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I.e. to open up trade, in Kuwabara's interpretation.

§§26-28) refer to "Sān-jū," the following §§29-33 giving a description of Khumdān.  $S\bar{a}n-j\bar{u}$  is an obvious slip for  $Kh\bar{a}n-f\bar{u}$ , as indicated in §26. The present case is entirely different from Kāshghari's

confusion of Shan-jū and Sha-chou, (v.s. p. 78).

§29. Khumdān is a barbarian name for the T'ang capital of Hsi-an-fu, see H.-' $\overline{A}$ ., 229. The name of Khumdan reappears in §33, as if concluding the series. Mas'ūdī, Murūj, I, 307–12, mentions two Muslim travellers who from Canton visited Khumdan. One of them, the rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, travelled in A.D. 870, and much later, when he was an old man, was interrogated by Abū Zayd Sīrāfī, the editor of Sulaymān's report and the compiler of a supplement to it, pp. 77-87, cf. H.-'A., 224. Ibn al-Wahhāb is responsible for a long and exaggerated report on the particular respect which the Emperor of China displayed for Islam, but he winds up (p. 86) with some more realistic facts on Khumdan, such as curfews, etc. It is not impossible that immediately after his return from China, when his memory was fresher, he drew up a longer memorandum (for the caliph?)1 which became known to Ibn Khurdādhbih, the later version of whose work is usually dated circa A.D. 885. This report is not in the abridgment published as BGA, V, but Jayhānī may have incorporated it from a fuller text (v.s., p. 6). Much of the information of §§29-33, etc., is also found in Muṭahhar, al-Fihrist and Gardīzī. See Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (registration of children, burials deferred, culprit's confession necessary and witnesses dispensed with, a stranger cannot export his Chinese wife, priests responsible for crops, curfews, etc.); idem, IV, 61 (capital at Khumdan, Chinese have flattened noses, wear long sleeves, decoration of houses, land non-irrigated, etc.); al-Fihrist, 350 (passports for travellers, three years' mourning, wives not to be exported, looting at funerals); Gardizi's longish paragraph was analysed above, p. 62, with the object of establishing its connection with Jayhānī, but its more remote source may be I. Kh.<sup>2</sup>

§29. The distance from Chinānikath to Khumdān is greatly exaggerated. A part of the road is described in Gardīzī, see

H.-'A., 229.

§30 varies only insignificantly from Gardīzī. On the inaccessibility of the Emperor Sulayman, 40, says that he shows himself once in ten months in order to maintain his prestige. The use in Arabic of Persian terms takht, "a piece, a cut," and  $j\bar{a}m$ , "a cup," is curious. Gardīzī, 93, has  $takht\bar{t}$   $d\bar{t}b\bar{a}$ . §31. "Their crops are cereals," as in Muṭahhar, IV, 21, who

adds, IV, 61, that their lands are non-irrigated; Gardīzī uses the

<sup>1</sup> Sulaymān, 85: Ibn al-Wahhāb told the Emperor of China that he was going to return to see the king of the Arabs "who is the son of my paternal uncle."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gardīzī's report on China begins with a quotation from I. Kh. saying that every traveller to China becomes a sage (not in BGA, V, but very similar to I.Kh. other pronouncements). It is impossible to say whether the reference to I.Kh. is meant to cover the other facts of Gardīzī's account of China.

term  $lalm\bar{\imath}$ , still in use in Turkestan for crops on non-irrigated lands. ( $Lalm\bar{\imath}$  may be a local form of Arabic  $daym\bar{\imath}$ , the alternance d/l being common in eastern Iranian).

§32 as in Mutahhar and Gardizi, with insignificant additions. Cf. also §26.

§33 on Khumdān has several points in common with the Ḥudūd: 360 towns sending kharāj (§9, 3., also in Muṭahhar, IV, 61); a lake "in the region of Khumdān" (§3, 35.). Sulaymān, 33, counts 200 towns in China, while I. Kh., 69, says that "China has 300 towns, all prosperous, and 24 among them renowned." The item on the four kinds of commodities is not attested elsewhere. Sulaymān, 41, says only that the major assets of the Treasury are the poll-tax and the monopoly of salt and tea (\*shā'ī, instead of shākh, Russian чай).

§34. Cf. I. Kh., 69: "the length of China along the sea from Armābīl (?) to the (other) end is 2 months," and al-Fihrist, 350: from Armāyīl to Bānṣwā (? + chou) 2 months ("3000 farsakhs" being

quoted as the distance to China overland).

§35 is welcome as a parallel to a mysterious passage in the *Ḥudūd*, pp. 84, 228. The two lists are identical, and even though the names are mutilated in both sources, we are now in possession of two variants for each name.

	Ḥ'Ā.	Marvazī	
1.	ايرش	ايرصو	
2.	خُورِش كورش	حوربتو	
	,	توليان	
3⋅	فراجكلي	<i>مراحبکلی</i>	
4.	ڻاي	ما تنی (ماتی؟)	
<b>5</b> .	خسانی	حِساقي	
6.	ننكوي	سكوى	
7.	بونوغنى	موبوعسى	
8.	<i>قوري</i>	فوري	
9.	انفس	العانساس	: Yaʻqūbī
		الاندلس }	: Fihrist

Here are some general considerations on the two lists:

(a) In view of the date of the  $\underline{H}ud\bar{u}d$  (A.D. 982), this enumeration has nothing to do with the report of the Qitay embassy (§§18–25).

(b) The two lists, each of nine names, are identical, but between 2. and 3. Marvazi inserts  $T\bar{u}lm\bar{a}n$ , instead of which the  $Hud\bar{u}d$  has Anf.s.

(c) The original source apparently gave a much fuller explanation of the nine names, but each of the two epitomists selected some special details and obscured them by his personal interpretation.

(d) According to the <u>Hudūd</u> (§9, 2.), "besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large regions (nāḥiyat) on the coast of the Eastern sea,

namely, Ir.sh, Khūr.sh, etc.," which, in spite of the differences of their populations in religion, appearance and customs, are governed on behalf of the Faghfūr-i Chīn. From the description of the rivers,  $\S6$ , 2.-3., it appears that Ir.sh is located south of the Yangtze, Khūr.sh (or  $K\bar{u}r.sh$ ?) between the Yangtze and the Yellow river and  $F.r\bar{a}j.kl\bar{i}$ , north of the Yellow river. It is conceivable, of course, that there are some misunderstandings about the course of the two rivers.1 Another detail is that the wild tribe Fūrī (§14, 1.), apparently identical with Qūrī (No. 8 in the list), is located to the east of the Khirkhiz, which fact is confirmed by Gardīzī. On Qūrī see Chap. IX, §5 ter. As the older Muslim tradition considered the Khirkhiz one of the north-easternmost nations, stretching down to China and the Eastern Ocean, see H.-'A., \( \) (beginning), this view may account for the disposition of the nine nations along the coast.

(e) Marvazi, for his part, refers the nine names not to "regions," but to various races (ajnās), which he locates, with considerable insistence, "to the left of China," "in a north-easterly direction," "between China and Khirkhiz." In fact the last name in Marvazi (\*Qūrī) brings us again to the east of the Khirkhiz. No reference is made to the sea, but the nations seems to be disposed in a vast north-

easterly sweep.

(f) The lists have no parallel in contemporary Islamic literature. The mutilated names and the embarrassed geographical indications of the *Hudūd* and Marvazi suggest that we have to do with some remote and little known tract.

I would tentatively compare the name No. 3 with the name Qarā-Jāng, which in Mongol times was applied to a region of Yün-nan.<sup>2</sup> Says Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, XV, 23: "The Chinese (Khitā'iyān) call Qarā-jāng \*Dāy-Kīw (var. Rāy-līv, Rāy-bnū), which means "the Great Province." This dominion has a (great) extent and at present obeys the Qā'ān. The complexion of some of the inhabitants is white, similar to that of the Chinese, but some others are black, also similarly to the Chinese. In the language of India and Kashmir, this province is called K.nd.r (var.  $K.nd\bar{u}$ , Q.ndū)," cf. ibid., 21, and Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 376, 395, 450. It is quite probable that the name Qarā-Jāng, "Black Chang," was in existence long before the Mongols, the word "black" being identical in Turkish (gara) and Mongolian (khara). The long  $\bar{a}$  in Jang is only the usual Persian scriptio plena, and in an Arabic source might have been omitted. Finally, with a Turkish ending -lī3 Marvazi's name might be restored as \*Qarā-Jāng-lī (?).

Marco Polo describes Carajan in his chapters 48 and 49, see Yule-Cordier, third ed., 1921, pp. 64-84, and further, after having spoken of the country of "Gold-Teeth" (v. i., India, §56), of Burma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the Ḥudūd, the Yellow River is taken for the continuation of the Tarim.

See Arabic text, p. 52, line 1.
 -lu and even -luq would be better in an ancient text! Cf. Mānb.k-lū in Gardīzī.

and Bengal, he turns back eastwards and speaks of Cangigu, Amin, Toloman (or Coloman, Chapter 58) and Cuiju (Chapter 59, cf. Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, 451: Kafche-kūh = Kwei-chou). Deveria, La frontière sino-annamite, 1886, 114-5, has identified Tholoman with T'u-la-man, "the T'u-la barbarians" referred to in the Yüan-shih-lei-pien. The T'u-lao, whom the Chinese also call Shan-tzŭ, "Mountaineers" still occupy the southern highlands of Yün-nan. In the Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao, translated by C. Sainson, 1904, 188, the T'u-lao are said to have formerly lived more to the east on the frontier of Szechuan, Kweichou and Kwangsi. Deveria's identification has been adopted in Yule-Cordier, II, 124. \*Tūlmān, or \*Tūlamān of Marvazi, coming as it does before \*Qarā-Jāng (Yün-nan) would be an extremely close parallel to Toloman!

Marvazi's mention of "white shells" being used by the nine nations, or by some of them (Qūrī?) is astonishing. The cowries (wad') are usually associated with India or the southern seas, cf. Sulaymān, 6, 28 = Mas'ūdī, Murūj, I, 385, Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, 68, Dimishqī, 208, Hobson-Jobson, 1903, p. 269. Curiously enough, M. Polo lays stress on the use of cowries in Carajan and Toloman, in spite of

the latter's great wealth in gold, ibid., II, 66, 76, 123.1

The other names of the group are still inexplicable. As the variant of *Ir.sh* indicates, the name might have sounded *Irm.r* or *Ayrm.n*, etc. The same may apply to No. 2. Numerous names of Barbarian tribes, especially in Yün-nan end in Chinese in *-man*. The acquaintance of Muslims with Yün-nan may be postulated from their knowledge of the kingdoms of Tirsūl, Mū-sa and Mānk, v. i., *India*, §52. According to M. Polo there were in Yün-nan not only Saracens and Idolators, but even a few Nestorian Christians. The story of the river separating Tibet from China, v. i, §42, points to the upper reach of the Yangtze on the northern border of Yün-nan. But were we to take Yün-nan for the beginning of our list we should have to postulate that the list enumerates the marches of China first in the extreme south-west, and then, with a formidable leap, in the extreme north-east!

For it is a fact that the list ends in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz, the only sure name being  $Q\bar{u}r\bar{\imath}$ . I now think that to the latter may be added the mysterious Anf.s of the  $Hud\bar{u}d.$  In a confused passage of the Fihrist, 350, some nameless traveller states that he was told by some inhabitants of And.l.s that a steppe separated their country from China  $(S\bar{\imath}n)$ : "China is called the Great Country  $(ard\ al-kab\bar{\imath}ra)$ , and al-And.l.s is to the north of it, and therefore they are near to where the sun rises." Says Ya'qūbī, Historiae, I, 208 (before A.D. 891): "on land China has three borders. The first of them is with the Turks and Toghuzghuz: with them wars were perpetual, until peace had been made and ties of marriage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M. Polo calls cowries "pourcelainne" ("pig-shells"). Thence the name "porcelain" which from these shells was transferred to China-ware, Yule, *ibid.*, II, 74.

established. The second is with Tibet: between China and Tibet is a mountain with a military post (masāliḥ) from which (the Chinese) keep watch on Tibet, while the Tibetan military post keeps watch on China, and the two posts are on the frontier of the two countries. The third border is with a people called al-Mānsās, who possess a separate kingdom and live in a large country which stretches for some years ('iddat sinīn) in every direction. No one knows what is beyond it. They are neighbours (yuqāribūna) of the Chinese. . . ." In Arabic script¹ the identity of al-Mānsās, al-And.l.s and (without al-) Anf.s seems quite probable, as it is likewise clear that the name is the earliest reference in Muslim literature to the inhabitants of Manchuria. I cannot explain the name, but possibly the final s of Mānsās is a plural suffix (cf. Mong. -s and Manchurian -sa, Manju-sa, "the Manchus").²

Giving rein to our imagination we might suggest for No. 4:  $Q\bar{a}y$  or even  $Qit\bar{a}y$  (Chap. IX, §3), and for No. 5, either  $Khit\bar{a}y = Qit\bar{a}y$ , or  $Khas\bar{a}n$  (< Khaskhan, in Chinese Ho-su-kuan), an ancient Manchurian tribe, for whose existence Prof. Haloun is my surety.<sup>3</sup>

§36, coming as it does after §35, confirms the impression that with these items we have reached the farthest limits to the East. Gardīzī speaks of the Fūrī after the Khirkhīz, and of the red-haired people after China.

The red-haired people possibly go back to the Alexander legend; cf. Qor'ān, XVIII, 89, in which Alexander finds a people to whom God "has given nothing to protect themselves against the intense heat of the Sun."

§§37-41 continue §§26-8 and go up to circa A.D. 850.

§37. The same item on the necessity of confession on the part of the culprit is to be found in Muṭahhar, IV, 20, who adds that only written documents can prove a debt. As Sulaymān, 39, confirms that "no notice is taken of what the parties say; the arguments must be presented in writing," it seems that the whole report was drawn up before A.D. 850.

§38. The item is in Sulaymān, 42-3, who omits the curious detail on Chinese maidservants, but the latter is in Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (immediately after the point on written documents) and in al-Fihrist, 350. This popular version differs in style from the matter-of-fact statement in §26, which is apparently derived from another traveller. But §38 is more true to the tenor of the Imperial edict of A.D. 628: "Any foreign envoy merchant may marry a Chinese woman. He shall not, however, take her away to his own country," Kuwabara, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Arabic text, p. 52, l. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Still obscure is the term  $M\bar{a}nis\bar{a}$  which the  $Hud\bar{u}d$  applies roughly to the chains of mountains separating Tibet from China. Is this terminology due to some misunderstanding? The mis-spelling Anfs may have been separated from the original  $M\bar{a}ns\bar{a}$  and the latter name located where the list began?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The lake Khasan, near which the Russians and Japanese came to a clash in 1938, may reflect the same name.

§39 (see also §12) adds slightly to Gardīzī. Cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 61.

§40 as in Gardīzī.

- §41. Si-la is the Silla kingdom (in Chinese: Sin-lo), which comprised the central and eastern part of Corea (A.D. 755-935). The passage is borrowed (directly or indirectly) from I. Khurdādhbih, 70 and 170, cf. I. Rusta, 82, Muṭahhar, IV, 661 (who quotes Kitāb al-Masālik), and al-Fihrist, 350.
- §42. The chapter on Tibet is based on the same source as §11 of the Ḥudūd (commentary, ibid., 254-63). One should think that the source of the chapter is Jayhānī but v. i., p. 90, note 1.

 $Ar\bar{a}$  must be restored as \* $Akh\bar{a}$  (or  $Aj\bar{a}$ ?) to bring it into harmony with the following  $Akh\bar{a}$ -yul (yul, "a country" in Tibetan), on which see H.-A., §11, 7.

The item on the "Gate of the two Tibets" (bāb al-Tubbatayn)1 corresponds to Dar-i Tubbat of the Hudūd, §26, 12., but contains a precious indication on its position between the mountain Shīwa and the river Kh.rnāb. The latter is the Upper Oxus (Panj), see H.-'A., §6, 7. and p. 208. Sheva is the plateau with a mountain lake in the easternmost part of Badakhshān, see Burhān al-dīn Kūshkaki, Rahnumā-yi Badakhshān, Russian transl., pp. 197-200 (under Darvāz). Shēva is an additional link to the road between Khuttal (in the present day Tajikistan) and Kashmir, which I have tried to trace in H.-'A., 363-5.2 After the crossing of the Oxus, see Ya'qūbī, Geography, 396, I. Kh., 178, the road must have followed the river of Ragh before penetrating into Sheva. Thence it ran southwards down to the western side of the pass of Zardiw, where we can place the "Arab" Gate  $(H.-A., \S 24, 25.)$ . The "Tibetan" Gate must have stood further east, on the road to Ishkashīm. Idrisi, tr. Joubert, I, 493, refers to a gate at B.thīnj (?) depending on Tibet.

The record of a Tibetan toll-house to the south-west of the Pamir is curious chronologically. It may be a reminiscence of the earlier period of Muslim domination in Central Asia (round about A.D. 715) when Chinese annals several times refer to Arab and Tibetan collaboration in the Hindukush-T'ien-shan region. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in B.S.O.S., 11/4, pp. 614-6. On the other hand, the H.-'A. definitely modernises the situation while it assigns the construction of the Arab Gate to Ma'mūn (possibly towards A.D. 811) adding that the toll at the "Gate of Tibet" was levied by the Muslims living there (without a reference to Tibetans).

 $R\bar{a}nk$ -r.nk correspond to H.-'A., §11, 1., the second part of the

¹ Perhaps the "Inner" and the "Outer" Tibet? Biruni places Twsm.t in the latter. It is possible that, instead of Tubbatayn, one should read \*Tubbatiyin "of the Tibetans."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the authority of Jayhānī, Marvazi refers to Khottal, Shikinān and Vakhān in the paragraph of yaks, see Arabic text, p. 51, line 10.

name standing apparently for Tibetan rong, "a cultivated valley." Strangely enough, Biruni, Jawāhir, 236-42, does not speak of Tibet in his enumeration of gold mines. On the other hand, Mustaufi, Nuzhat al-qulūb, GMS, 201, quotes the story of nuggets which are found "in Rānk, in the country of Turkistān," on the authority of the Ṣuwar al-aqālīm.¹

Separately from the legend of gold nuggets in Tibet, Marvazi speaks of gold in the paragraph on ants (f. 210a), see Arabic text, p. 51, l. 14), in which he states that at the farthest limit of India there is a land called Zamīn-i zar (in Persian!), where gold grows like grass.2 Merchants can penetrate into it only at night for fear of the ants which are the size of a dog and can overtake the best horses if they are wounded or are moving slowly. Magdisi, IV, 93 (tr., IV, 88) quotes the same legend (< Jayhānī), while he places the country where gold grows like plants somewhere "towards the sun-rise." Cf. also Ibn Iyas in Ferrand, Textes, 476. Ferrand is wrong in trying to substitute namir, "a panther," for naml, "an ant." Legends connecting ants with gold are too well known, see Herodotus, III, 102-5, and Mahabharata, II, 1860: "The kings of the North-West [brought to Yudhisthira] gold measured by dronas which had been dug up by ants (pipīlika) and was called pipīlika" (L. D. Barnett). On Mongolian and Tibetan sources see Laufer, Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen, in T'oung-Pao, 1908, 429-52, and A. N. Francke, Two Ant stories from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet, in Asia Major, II, 1924, 67-75.

Instead of Zāb, H.-'A., §II, 3., has N.zvān. Marvazi gives some new details. Zāb is "above," i.e. beyond Rānk-r.nk; its inhabitants resemble Turks; it has a river forming a frontier between Tibet and China. The last fact may be compared with H.- ${}^{\prime}A$ ., §6, 2., where it is said that the river Kīsau (Kin-sha-chan?) "rises from the east of the mountain Manisa (separating Tibet from India, and then from China), and reaches a place situated in the centre of Tibet (or "in the middle of the Tibetan frontier"?). It flows on along that mountain, until it comes opposite the Tibeto-Indian frontier. Then it cuts through many mountains," and finally becomes the Ghiyan (Yangtze). In §9 it is added that the Chinese embark on the Ghiyan to visit Tibet for trade. These hints would suggest for "Zāb" a situation on the upper course of the Yangtze, contrary to the H-' $\bar{A}$ ., which describes "N.zvān" (T.zdān, etc., perhaps Tsaidam?) as lying at the north-eastern corner of Tibet (see my sketch map, ibid., 196).

A reference to the river separating China from Tibet is also found

¹ Of Abū Zayd Balkhī? The latter's work is known to us only in the version of Istakhri, BGA, I, which does not contain the passage on Rānk. In BGA, I, Istakhri's work bears the title of Masālik al-mamālik, but on its last page, 348, it is called Kitāb al-ashkāl. Biruni, Jawāhir, 204, 216, 246, several times refers to the Ashkāl al-aqālīm (of Balkhī?).

It is possible that the author has in view Assam, cf. Chap. xii, §52.

in the Fihrist, 351, where the bridge spanning it is likewise described. It was made of 'aqab, which the editor interprets as "boats." However, 'aqab in this meaning appears to be a strictly local Egyptian term, Dozy, Supplément, II, 146. As the text insists on the dreadfulness of the crossing by the bridge, which was two cubits wide, we must admit some other meaning of 'qb. As the usual meaning of 'aqab is "sinews or tendons of which strings of bows, etc., are made," Lane, p. 2100, the report may hint at this tough material used in the construction of the bridge.<sup>2</sup>

These details have a certain importance as suggesting that Muslims possessed some knowledge of the Sino-Tibetan borderland (possibly in the region of Szechuan), from whence they could have advanced even into Yün-nan, v.s. §35.

§43. The description of the musk-deer is repeated in the chapter of the gazelles (al-ziba) (ff. 84b-85a) in which Marvazi quotes a certain al-H.skī (?), who in his turn depended on "maritime merchants" (tujjār al-bahr), v.s. §14. In fact, the story is very close to that of Abū-Zayd Sīrāfī (in Sulaymān, 111-2), who undoubtedly used the maritime lore of the Persian Gulf. A similar passage of the Murūj, I, 353-6, is directly derived from Abū Zayd, whom Mas'ūdī met in A.D. 915. Very detailed information on musk was contained in a work of Ya'qūbī, now lost. The work was quoted in the Jayb al-'arūs of Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tamīmī al-Muqaddasī (d. 380/990), whose grandfather was Ya'qūbī's companion. Some of these quotations have survived in Nuwayri's Encyclopedia, cf. BGA, VII, 364–70. Ya'qūbī says, *ibid.*, 364, that the best musk comes from "a place called Dhūsm.t, situated at 2 months' distance from (the capital of?) Tibet." This place is without doubt identical with Tūsmat, which the Hudūd quotes under Tibet (§11, 9.). The name does not occur in Marvazi, but his chapter on the bovine species (f. 76a) contains the following important passage: "Jayhānī, in the book of al-Masālik wal-Mamālik, savs that a traveller from Sha-chou  $(S\bar{a}-i\bar{u})$  to China  $(S\bar{i}n)$  sees on his right a mountain on which live the musk-deer and the oxen from whose tails whisks ("chawry") and tops of banners are made. seems that at this place they are the best (although?) these oxen (i.e. yaks) are numerous in the region extending eastwards from Khuttal, in the direction of Shiknan and Vakhkhan. (The abovementioned mountain) is at a distance of two months and a half from Kāshghar. It lies at the point where the roads branch off: to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This bridge must be different from the suspension bridge between two mountains on the road from Khotan to Tibet, on this side of the "mountain with poisonous air," as described by Jayhānī, from whom it passed into Biruni, *Chronology*, 271, and Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 88; cf. also Mutahhar, IV, 92, Z. Qazwīnī, I, 160.

<sup>2</sup> The system would be different from that of a Tibetan rope-bridge graphically

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The system would be different from that of a Tibetan rope-bridge graphically described in H. R. Davies, Yün-nan, 1909, 259-60; the traveller is fastened to a gliding piece of wood and "flies across the river at the speed of an express train." More suitable would be the type represented in Yule-Cordier, II, 80, only without railings.

Qitay—in an easterly direction, and to China—with a deflection to the right, namely, southwards. (The mountain) lies approximately opposite Tibet." According to the description, the mountain would roughly correspond to Nan-shan. I think there is considerable likelihood that the region referred to in this quotation from Jayhani is the famous Tusmat. In the commentary on the H.-'A., p. 259, I had to locate Tūsmat near Khotan, while stressing a discrepancy between this location and Biruni's co-ordinates (v.s. p. 67). The latter undoubtedly points to the north-eastern border of Tibet. The travellers had in view not only Nan-shan but also the terra incognita behind it. Following Biruni the distance from Kan-chou to Twsm.t (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 Km.), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand. the name Twsmat reminds one of Tibetan 'Mdo-'smat, "The Lower Amdo." Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor.<sup>1</sup> Its distance from Kan-chou is considerably under 526 Km., and this increases the impression that the original report vaguely referred to the highlands forming the north-eastern corner of Tibet.

## CHAPTER IX

## THE TURKS

Under the heading of "the Turks" Muslim geographers include also the Finno-Ugrian and Slavonic peoples of Eastern Europe. Several items which Marvazi, on his own initiative, inserted in Chapter XV have been reincorporated in their appropriate places in Chapter IX. The latter consists of two distinct parts:

A. A general description of the tribes:

§§1-3: Introductory, with an account of a great migration of tribes (Qāy, Qūn, Shārī, etc.).

§§4-10: Eastern Turks: Khirkhīz, Kharlukh, Kīmāk and their neighbours, Pechenegs.

§§11-16: Peoples of Eastern Europe: Khazar, B.rdās, Bulghār, the northerners, Majgharī, Slavs, Rūs.

B. Anthropological remarks on the influence of the climate on the northern peoples.

§§17-20: Theories of Hippocrates and Galen about the Turks (read: Scythians) and Amazons.

¹ It stretches along the upper Hoang-Ho (to the south of Kuku-nor, down to the limits of Kan-su and Szechuan). In Amdo lie the famous monasteries of Gumbum and Labrang. Musk-deer in herds are still found in Amdo, but wild yaks have been driven out by the nomads, see P. K. Kozlov, Mongolei, Amdo, etc., German translation 1925, pp. 171 and 215. According to W. W. Rockhill, The land of the Lamas, 1891, pp. 73-5, the term Amdo applies to the country "within the Kan-su border inhabited by Tibetans." The latter locally call themselves Amdo-wa, the inhabitants of the more fertile valleys being called Rong-wa.

In the background of the Introduction is the Ghuz (Arab. Ghuzz) tribe to which the Seljuk dynasty belonged. A part of it (§2) is but a rearrangement of traditional data, but §3 refers to facts which are not found in any previous records.

The middle part of the Chapter (§§4-16) runs more or less parallel with a number of texts already known and supposed to be connected with Jayhānī, but Marvazi's text contains some curious additions, which undoubtedly belong to the original source, for they fit exactly into the system. Thus he described the neighbours of the Kīmāk (§§8 bis, 9), who are only vaguely referred to in the Hudūd, and beyond the Isū and Yūra, extends the description down to the northern sea (§§12 ter and quater). The paragraph on the Rūs (§15) has a curious epilogue on their conversion to Islam.

As already stated, the basic source must be Jayhani, but in the latter's text too one must discriminate between the facts borrowed from earlier authors (I. Khurdādhbih, etc.), and the material collected directly under the author's instructions. Some hesitation in the nomenclature, which reflects the difference between the older (pre-Jayhānian) sources, is noticeable in Marvazi. In §12 the Burdas (Istakhri < Balkhi: Burtas) are said to raid the Bulkar, but in §12 bis the latter nation is called Bulghar. The earlier "Bulkar-Burdās'' report may have been incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih,1 though the problem of its other contents requires a special study. To it probably belonged the data on the Slavs, Rūs and western Turks, but it is difficult to say how much ground it covered in the east.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole, the points which Marvazi has in common with I. Rusta and Bakri are §§11, 12 (similarly: Burdās), 13 (partly), 14 (partly), 15 (partly). The additional points in which Marvazi agrees with the Ḥudūd and Gardīzī are §§4, 5 ter, 6, 7, 8 (partly), 10, 12 bis (partly), 13. The points recorded only in Marvazi (and partly copied in 'Aufi) are §§1, 2 (a rearrangement of former sources), 3 (the famous passage on the migration of tribes), 5, 5 bis, 8, 8 bis, 9, 12 ter and quater (some details not in 'Aufi), 15 (on the conversion of the Rus to Islam). §§17-20 are of an entirely different origin based as they are on ancient Greek medical texts slightly retouched by the author.

- §1. This paragraph is literally translated in 'Aufi, see Marquart, Über das Volkstum der Komanen, p. 40, where the original afkhādh, "sub-tribes," has been faultily transmitted.
- §2. 'Aufi (ibid., lines 4-9) abridges and modernises our text which itself represents an attempt to rearrange the traditional facts to bring them more up to date. The composite character of the paragraph is apparent from the simultaneous use of the terms Toghuzghuz and Turkman.

As partly suggested by Barthold, Zap., XXI, pp. xli-iii.
 Rusta omits the eastern Turks but the Hudūd, Gardīzi and Marvazi describe

The Toghuzghuz Turks (in Chinese T'u-küeh) on the Orkhon had ceased to exist as a political power A.D. 745; their western branch, continued by the Türgish clans, gave way to the Qarluq about A.D. 776. The Uyghurs ruled on the Orkhon from 745 down to 840, when their federation was dissolved by the Oirghiz and Chinese, a part of it only surviving in Kan-su and Eastern T'ien-shan. The spelling \*Uy-ghur for *Uyghur* (see Arabic text, p. 18) is curious as separating the final element, which was perhaps considered as a link between the three ancient names mentioned in §2. Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, Trudi Vost. Otd., VII, 159, also spells Uy-ghūr. The third name, \*Üch-ghur or \*Üch-ghuz is a puzzle unless the name refers to the *Uchūq* (\*Üch-oq?) division which formed the left wing of the Oghuz (Ghuz) federation, see Rashid al-din, ibid., 35.1 Whether the Uyghur were originally a part of the Turk (Ghuz) tribe is still very doubtful, see Hudūd, 263-8, but in later times (fourteenth century) they were considered as "having always been together with the Oghuz," Rashid al-din, ibid., p. 22.

The title Toghuz-khaqan (or rather, Toghuzghuz-khaqan) properly belonged to the Turkish (T'u-küeh) rulers, but might have been traditionally applied to their successors on the Orkhon and else-In Marvazi's time it was a sheer anachronism. The text has mainly in view the Ghuz from whom the Seljuk dynasty has sprung up. The description of the Turkish boundary points to the time of earlier Sāmānids. The word shākirī seems to be of Soghdian origin, see Vladimirtsov, Mongolica I, in Zap. Koll. Vost., I, 1925, p. 327. In Turkish and Mongolian chaqar ( $>tsa_xar$ ) applies to 'a court-yard, a fortified camp," and with a further extension of the meaning, to the persons grouped round a court, a monastery. In Central Asia, the form chākar/chākir (Hsüan-Tsang: Chê-kieh) was used to designate the "life-guards" of the local rulers, see Barthold, Turkestan, 180. The three cups of wine are what is called thalātha-yi ghassāla (Ḥafiz). Nizām al-mulk in his Siyāsat-nāma, 190, refers to si piyāla-yi sharāb at an entertainment of Turkish amirs of the Samanid court. Cf. also Chap, XII, §4.

The term Türkmän is first recorded towards the end of the tenth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> It does not occur in Iştakhri (<Balkhi) or the Hudūd. For practical purposes Türkmän is a later synonym of Ghuz. The clear distinction which Marvazi draws in applying it only to the Muslim Ghuz is curious; in fact, the spread of the term Türkmän coincides with the Islamization of the Ghuz, v.i. p. 103. In spite of the lack of positive proofs, we may imagine that the Seljuks favoured a special denomination for their subjects, such as would distinguish them both from the Ghuz hordes which raided

Already Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54 (under the year 536/1141), mentions the two divisions of the Ghuz Aj.q and B.r.q (\*B.z.q), i.e. \*Uchuq and \*Bozuq.

First reference in Muqaddasi, BGA, III, 274, who in one breath mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Saurān and Sh.gh.ljān and the "Turkmans who have accepted Islam" in the neighbourhood of B.rūkat and B.lāj.

Persia as forerunners of the Seljuks, and from the tribes opposed to the Seljuks, such as, at a later date, held Sultan Sanjar prisoner (from A.D. II53 down to the end of II56).

On the Turkish and heathen Ghuz see also §3, which refers to a movement of the Türkmän-Ghuz-Pechenegs, but with a significant difference. In §2 the Ghuz, under the pressure of the Türkmäns, leave Khwārazm (!) and migrate to the territory of the Pechenegs, and the success of the Türkmäns is explained by their Islam. no religious background and the (Muslim!) Türkmäns seem to succumb to the pressure of other tribes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus records the first attack of the Ghuz and Khazars on the Pechenegs, circa A.D. 893, and attributes to it the seizure of the Magyar territory by the Pechenegs. Some traces of this migration of the Pechenegs are found in Istakhri (circa A.D. 930), p. 10, and the Hudūd (A.D. 982). The latter (< Jayhānī) speaks distinctly of the "Turkish Pechenegs" in their former seats (§20) and the "Khazarian Pechenegs" in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, see my commentary, *ibid.*, 312-5, 443-4. In §2 Marvazi echoes the same tradition though he modernizes it by the use of the later term Türkmän. The tradition of §3 seems to be entirely different.

§3. The contents of this important record had first become known through 'Aufi's Persian translation brought to light by Barthold, Turkestan, I, 99, and re-edited by Marquart, Komanen,  $40_{9-14}$ , with an amazingly elaborate commentary. Barthold and Pelliot have discussed Marquart's theories in their reviews of his work, cf. also  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , 284, 317, 444 and passim. Marvazi's original adds a few important details to which I referred in my article, Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI° siècle (1937). There is much that is still dark in this passage but a closer study of it enables me to make new suggestions on several points.

A. The Qāy. The migration was begun by the Qūn, but its easternmost link seems to have been the Qāy.

According to Marvazi, the Qūn left their territory because (a) they were afraid of the ruler of Qitāy and (b) they were cramped for grazing grounds.¹ The obvious explanation is that the expansion of the Qitāy federation under the Liao dynasty caused a redistribution of pastures and that the Qūn had to leave their headquarters (marākiz) and move westwards. The Qūn were ousted from "these pasture lands (marā'ī)" by a stronger tribe called Qāy. The phrase is clumsy but suggests that the Qāy attacked not the original homes of the Qūn but the new pasture lands which the Qūn were using. The Qāy are said to have "followed" (or "pursued") the Qūn and the verb ittaba'a also indicates that the Qūn were already on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Rāhat al-ṣudūr, 92, on the petition which the Turcomans addressed to Sultan Maḥmūd asking him to allow them to cross the Oxus, because of the insufficiency of their pastures.

move.¹ In Arabic script the names Qitāy and Qāy can be easily confused, but the separate entity of the Qāy is attested in wher sources as well.

The oldest record of this tribe<sup>2</sup> is in Biruni's *Tafhīm* (written in 420/1029), ed. Wright, 145: "the Sixth Clime begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as the Qāy, Qūn, Khirkhīz, Kīmak and Toghuzghuz," etc., cf. *Ḥudūd*, 284. Incidentally this enumeration suggests that the Qāy were considered as the easternmost tribe in the list. In *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, compiled shortly after 421/1030, no mention is found of the *Qāy* and *Qūn*, while (the capital of?) *Qitā* figures as the easternmost point of the Second Clime, beyond Utkīn (v.s. p. 69). This curious omission may be due to the technical impossibility of fixing astronomically the position of nomad tribes.

În Kashghari's Dīwān, I, 28, the Qāy appear in the series of tribes stretching from the Byzantine Empire in a west-to-east direction: Pecheneg—Qipchaq—Oghuz—Yamāk (Kīmāk)—Bashghurt—Basmīl —Qāy—Yabāqū—Tatār—Qirqiz. The latter are said to live in the neighbourhood of al-Sin, i.e. of Khitāy, for the China proper of the Sung is called by the author "Tavghāch, which is Māṣīn (\*Mahāchīn)." Another series of tribes "in the middle (zone) between south and north (sic)" is as follows: Chigil—Tukhs—Yaghmā—Ighrāq— Charuq—Jumul—Uyghur—Tangut—Khitāy, "which is al-Ṣīn." On the Map accompanying Kāshghari's text,3 Qāy is shown in the space between the Irtish and Obi: beyond the Irtish and to the north (!) of the mountains (Altai?) is inscribed  $\overline{U}tk.n$ ; to the north-east of the latter and on the left bank of the Yamur (Obi) is shown "the habitat of the Jumul" and downstream from it "the habitat of the Qay." This position agrees with the place of the Qay in the above-mentioned enumeration according to which the tribe lived considerably to the west of the Qirqiz. On the other hand, Qay appears immediately north of *Utk.n*. If this name stands for the well-known Ötükän in the Selenga basin, the position of the Qay should be moved considerably eastward to the neighbourhood of Baikal (?). However, Kāshghari's *Utk.n* may echo the *Utkīn* of Biruni and Marvazi, on which see Chap. IX, §20C. In this case no great importance should be attached to Kāshghari's location of a little-known place. All we can ay is that in the two series of tribes the Qay and the equally vague Jumul are taken for neighbours. Kāshghari, III, 118, considers the Qay as a Turkish tribe, and though, I, 30, he mentions them among the peoples having their own lugha ("language, or

¹ In 'Aufi's translation, the Qāy drive the Qūn away from their own pastures, i.e. from the neighbourhood of the Qāy pastures (az marā'ī-yi khud dūr kardand)?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The name *Thāy* of the *Hudūd*, which I tentatively compared with *Qāy*, *H*.-'A., 229, is still uncertain. The three dots of the first character admit of an alternative restoration as \*Quāy, v.s. Chap. VIII, §35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Map may have been drawn by the author himself, or based on his indications, cf. A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte*, in *Imago mundi*, 1935, p. 27, but it suggests that Kashghari's knowledge of Farther Asia was hazy, v.s. Chap. IX, §16.

dialect"), he admits that they speak good Turkish. Finally, III, 58, a Turkish verse is quoted whose author accuses his enemy of having stolen his Qāy slave.

Next, in chronological order comes Marvazi's paragraph describing the chain of migration of Turkish tribes (§3). 'Aufi's passage is only a translation of it.

The Syriac Map published by the late Mingana in the Manchester Guardian of 19th May, 1933, shows at the eastern extremity of the Sixth Clime "Qirqiz; Qay and Qun; the country of the Turks and Mongols (!)." The last detail makes it difficult to accept the date of A.D. 1150 attributed to it by the editor. In any case, the description of the Sixth Clime is apparently influenced by Bīrūnī's Tafhīm, which manual is also directly responsible for Yāqūt's description of the Climes, I, 33.2

Thus Bīrūnī, Kāshgharī and Marvazi are our original authorities on the Qāy. The date of the *Tafhīm* (1029?) in which the Qāy and Qūn are mentioned for the first time might suggest that the information on the Far Eastern peoples was brought by the K'itan embassy of A.D. 1027 (Chap. VIII, §22). The distance between the Qāy and Qūn on the one hand (6th Clime) and the Qitay on the other (2nd Clime) is considerable. It may indicate that the tribes had already begun their westward trek, unless it is due to the southern expansion of the Qitay.

Kāshghari's enumeration of the order in which the tribes come is presumably more reliable than their position on his Map. As there is no trace of the Qūn in Kāshghari, he may have in view some later period when the Qāy had moved still more to the west before vanishing from the stage and being forgotten by later writers.

Who were the Qāy? Some connection with the Qitay and some similarity of names make me think of the Hi (read:  $\chi i$ ), who are often coupled with the Qitay. In the Orkhon inscription the name  $Tatab\ddot{i}$  presumably refers to them, while the Chinese transcription may have preserved their indigenous appellation (originally K'u-mo-hi). In the T'ang-shu their territory is said to be contiguous in the north-east with the K'itan and in the west with the Turks.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  I, 33: they pronounce y instead of j; I, 393: their word  $q\ddot{v}rnaq$ , "a slave girl"; III, 108: their word qat, "a fruit, a berry" (both words in common with several other tribes).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This map seems to be identical with that published by Chabot, *Une mappemonde Syrienne du XIIIe* siècle, in *Bull. de géog. hist. et descr.*, 1897, pp. 98-112, and 1898, pp. 31-43. Cf. Honizmann, a.c., 167-78.

pp. 31-43. Cf. Honigmann, o.c., 167-78.

Marquart, Komanen, 53, 187, made a mistake in confusing the Qāy (Kashghari, I, 28) with the Oghuz clan Qayi (Kāshghari, I, 56: Qayigh). On the other hand he thought that the founders of the Qipchaq dynasty (circa 514/1120) were Hi, ibid., 117, 137.

<sup>117, 137.</sup>According to Karlgren, the pronunciation of the sign in Cantonese is hay (Haloun). This makes it still nearer to Qay. Pelliot, J.A., April, 1920, 150, restores the ancient reading Hi as  $\gamma i\ddot{a}i$ , or, in the complete form K'-u-mo-hi, K'uo-mwak- $\gamma i\ddot{a}i < Quma\gamma ay$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Thomsen, Inscriptions, 141, and ZDMG, 1924, 174. Melioransky, Zap., XII, 100.

As early as A.D. 606, they had made an alliance with the latter. In the beginning of the ninth century they allied themselves with the Uvghurs. Finally, the K'itan subdued the Hi and I learn from Prof. Haloun that they transferred a considerable number of them to the north-west of the great bend of the Yellow River. The solution of our problem lies in this direction, but it must be reserved as a prize for those who can read the Chinese chronicles of the K'itan.

B. The Oūn. The name is found only in Biruni and Marvazi (>'Aufi). As in the case of Qay, the earliest information about Oun was possibly obtained through the K'itan ambassador, but the additional facts seem to be due to Akinchi b. Qochqar (v.i. p. 101). A "very old, correct and reliable" MS. of 'Aufi (Br.Mus.Or. 2676) instead of Qwn gives Q.ry, which form caused me to suppose, H.-A., 285, that Qūn=Qūrī, v.i. §5 ter. This surmise is no more defendable in view of Marvazi's clear spelling Qūn,2 and his unexpected revelation that the Qun were Nestorian Christians. The first report of a considerable success of Christian proselytization among the Far Eastern nomads, namely, the conversion of the Kereit, reached the West only about A.D. 1009.3 This date corroborates the assumption that the great migration could have taken place only in the eleventh century. The name Qun, however, does not occur among the Christian tribes of the Far East.<sup>4</sup> As the conversion of an important tribe would not have passed unobserved in the centre of Nestorian administration, we have to suppose either that the Qun were only a part of some federation (Kereit, Öngüt) or that Qun is a Qitay term for a tribe familiar to us under a different name. As yet we know of no conversions to the north of Mongolia. Thus it is probable that the Qun were established among the Mongols.

Marquart's theory, Komanen, 80, about the Oun being a division of the tribe Marga or Murga is a mistake. Instead of 'Aufi's m.rga Marvazi has a clear firqa, "a tribe," and this reading is supported by the Persian variant mardumī in one of 'Aufi's MSS. Conse-

quently, exit Murga!

Professor Haloun whom I have consulted on the identity of the Qun has made a new and original suggestion. He would consider the possibility of the Qūn being the T'u-yü-hun. "Beside the full form of the latter name, the shortened forms T'u-hun and T'ui-hun are also, and in fact preferably, used in the Chinese sources from the seventh century A.D. onwards. Instances of simple Hun (Middle Chinese yuen) are very numerous as well".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Iakinf [Bichurin], Istoriya narodov, 1/2, pp. 470-6, where the information on the Hi is grouped together.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The name Qūrī figures in Marvazi in Chap. VIII, §35, but unfortunately for our

<sup>\*</sup>Bar Hebraeus, Chron. Eccl., III, 279-80; see now this passage in A. Mingana, The early spread of Christianity in Central Asia, Manchester, 1925, p. 15.

\*The Christian tribes among the Mongols were Kereit, Ongüt, Nayman and partly

Merkit. See Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale, in T'oung-Pao, 1914, 623-44, and Grousset, L'empire des steppes, 1939, 243-6.

"The first known home of the T'u-yü-hun was in south-western Manchuria and their original language may have been a Mongolian dialect. About A.D. 310 they occupied the country round the present Ho-chou in Kan-su and made themselves masters of the Kökenör region over which they ruled uncontested from A.D. 446.2 After a crushing defeat inflicted upon the T'u-yü-hun by the Tibetans in 663, their gayan, together with a large body of his followers, was settled by the Chinese at An-lo-chou, to the south of modern Ning-hsia (A.D. 672), while other fractions of the tribe were established near Yen-an-fu in Shen-si (Hun-chou), in south-eastern Ordos (Ning-shuo-chou), on the Ulan-müren, south of Liang-chou (Ko-mên-chou), and elsewhere. 769 An-lo-chou in its turn was taken by the Tibetans and the main body of the T'u-vü-hun shifted to the region of Yin-shan, north of the great bend of the Huang-ho, where they formed the chief constituent element of the population during the ninth and tenth centuries, the other elements being the Sha-to, the Ch'i-p'i and other Turkish tribes. In the second half of the ninth century an important division of the T'u-yü-hun moved further on to Northern Shan-si. Their rule over Ta-t'ung (881–891) was broken by the Sha-to, and thereupon a group settled round Yü-chou (near the Little Wu-t'ai-shan) became paramount. During the tenth century this group practically bordered on the "Western Hi" who, fleeing the K'itan, had occupied Kuei-chou (present Huai-lai, north-west of Peking). The K'itan subdued the T'u-yu-hun of Yin-shan in 916 and dominated the territory of Yü-chou in 938. The T'u-yu-hun of Yü-chou crossed over to Chinese territory, and in 946 were almost annihilated near Lan-chou (north-west of T'ai-yüan-fu). There seems to be no direct indication as to a migration of the remaining T'u-yü-hun to the west, but their name disappears from Eastern-Asiatic records during the eleventh century."3

The prolonged stay of the T'u-yü-hun in the region of Yin-shan makes it quite plausible that at least a part of them were touched by Christian propaganda radiating from Ordos. In this important point too Prof. Haloun's hypothesis looks very satisfactory.

As the scene of the clash between the Qay and Qun has to be placed somewhere in Eastern Mongolia, and the Shariya whom the Qun subsequently pressed are to be sought near Lake Aral, the distance which the Oun travelled over could not be under 4000 Kms. This is the most obscure link in the chain of migrations. The Qun must have been in good numbers to provoke a further displacement of the western tribes, but their road ran through regions equally removed from Chinese, Muslim and Western observers. Apart from Marvazi, the only reference to the migration of the Qun is found in Mattheos of Urha, in whose text "the people of Serpents" corresponds to our *Qun* (v.i. p. 102). The only representative of the tribe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pelliot, Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen, in T'oung-Pao. 1921, pp. 323-30. <sup>2</sup> Iakinf [Bichurin], Istorya Tibeta i Khukhunora, I, pp. 73-99.

<sup>3</sup> It seems less probable that the Qun might have been connected with a Tölis tribe Hun which becomes known circa A.D. 600 and whose later destinies are closely connected with the Uyghurs. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux, p. 87, n. 3, No. 10.

whose memory has survived is the amir Äkinchi b. Qochqar, of whom it will be more convenient to speak in the following paragraph.

C. AL-SHĀRIYA. With regard to this group we have three questions to consider, namely, (a) its relation to the homonymous group mentioned in the chapter on China; (b) the implications of the

name; and (c) the authority for Marvazi's report.

(a) A group of al-Shāriya is described in Chapter VIII, §20, at a half-month's distance to the east of Shan-chou (or Sha-chou?). These Shāriya who are said to have fled from Islam, i.e. from some more westerly region, seem to have been connected with the Sari-Yughurs of Kan-su. The more important group of the Shāriya which, in the great migration of Turkish tribes, forms the principal connecting link between Western Asia and Eastern Europe, is to be located some 3,000 Kms. to the N.W. of the first group. If the identity of their name points to their appurtenance to the same nation, the latter must have experienced considerable vicissitudes and have been very widely scattered.

(b) Stripped of the Arabic ending the name appears in 'Aufi as Sārī. Barthold¹ restored this form as Turkish sarī, "yellow," and compared it with the name of the Oipchaq (Komans), whom the Russians call Polovtsi (from половый, "yellowish, sallow," see

H.-'A., 315) and the Western Europeans, Pallidi, etc.<sup>2</sup>

As is customary with nomade federations, the "Qipchaq" must have been an association of various tribes, within which the chieftainship was assumed by single clans, families and even outsiders. Very probably the variety of names under which the federation is known reflects the historical succession of leadership within it. The Hudūd, §18, refers to several territories intermediate between the Kimak and Qipchaq. The name of one of them spelt Y.γsūn-yāsū made me suspect in the first part of it a reference to some Yughurs whose presence in the Oara-qum sands is referred to in several sources, H.-'A., 309-10.4 If Marvazi's §3 has in view this tribe, the comparison with Chap. VIII, §20, might suggest that, after the catastrophe of A.D. 840, a part of the Uyghurs had sought refuge in this remote region lying to the north-east of the Aral lake. We have no means, however, of answering the questions when and why the

German in his introduction to Marquart's Wehrot und Arang, p. 34\*.

QYMJ as \*Qanqli and Qibjakh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In his review of Marquart's Komanen, which H. H. Schaeder has translated into

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The coming-into-being of the Qipchaq forms the subject of Marquart's book, Uber das Volkstum der Komanen, 1914. Cf. now H.-'A., §21, with my commentary. Recently D. A. Rasovsky has published a series of five excellent articles on the Polovtsi, Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1935-9 (see especially Chapter I: the origins of the Polovtsi).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In Juvayni, II, 102, I should now restore the names of the two rivers QYLY and

Or could the name of this group represent some variation of Yugra (v.i. §12 ter). We are insufficiently informed of the early distribution of this Finnish tribe which before A.D. 1000 is supposed to have occupied the middle and lower course of the Obi and the lower reaches of the Irtish, see V. N. Chernetsov, Ocherk etnogeneza Obskikh Yugrov, in Krat. Soob. Inst. Mater. Kult., IX, 1941, pp. 18-28.

Kan-chou Yughurs received their surname Sarī ("Yellow") (v.i. p. 77), and whether some larger division of the tribe was entitled to this appellation.¹ Should our identification of the Shāriya find a further confirmation, one might imagine that the western series of migration was provoked by this particular tribe, while the rest of the "Qipchaq" federation was not affected by it. In any case, to be in the position to press on the Muslim Türkmäns, the Shāriya (whether Polovtsi, or a special Uyghur tribe) must have lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Aral and the lower course of the Sir-daryā.²

Before we survey the repercussions of the movement among the western tribes it will be helpful to consider one important point throwing light on the origin of §3.

I am inclined to connect the transmission of our report with the person of an amir of Qun origin whose name is found in our text. According to Juvayni, II, 3, Akinchi b. Qochqar was Sanjar's slave, whereas I. Athir, X, 181, says that he was one of Bark-varuq's slaves and that this sultan appointed him Khwārazmshāh. Barkyaruq began to reign in Shavval 487/14 October-11 November, 1094, and the nomination of Äkinchi was probably made on the occasion of Bark-yaruq's first visit to Khorasan after the overthrow of his tyrannous uncle Arslan Arghun. Bark-yaruq reached his army on 5 Jamādī I 490/20 April, 1096, and stayed in Khorasan over seven months. Äkinchi had time to collect a force of 10,000. most probably in his new government, and then came to Marv to join the Sultan, who by that time had returned to 'Iraq. Äkinchi arrived with a small escort and, while engaged in merry-making, was attacked and killed by two rival amirs. This must have happened towards the very end of 1097. Consequently, only for a very short time did Äkinchi enjoy his governorship, though a previous acquaintance with Khwārazm was a necessary prerequisite of his appointment. The fact that both his father's and his son's names are known points to some family tradition as accounting for Äkinchi's own whereabouts. A man of such standing as to become Khwārazmshāh, i.e. the governor responsible for the whole northern front of the Seljuk empire, must have been a prominent personality fully aware of the events in the steppe to the north of the Aral lake and the Caspian. There is nothing strange in the supposition that the court physician Sharaf al-Zaman, himself a native of Marv, knew him personally. He might even have been called to attend on the dying Khwarazmshah.

It stands to reason that the immense migration of tribes ranging from Manchuria to the Black Sea could not be a matter of a few

¹ We can only put on record, as a mere parallel, that at an earlier time, the Türgish were divided into two groups called "Black" and "Yellow," see H.-'Ā., 301. A considerable stream Sarī-su flows in the neighbourhood of the Qara-qum sands.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Marquart, Komanen, 41, took Sārī for the capital of Mazandaran, but in his corrections, *ibid.*, 202, has admitted that the country of Sārī must have lain to the east of the Turkmans.

years, nor could it have been surveyed in its entirety from outside. Very probably the two series of moves, "Qāy—Qūn—Shāriya" and "Türkmän—Ghuz—Pecheneg" were knitted together at some central point, such as Khwārazm. No person was better qualified to correlate the facts than Äkinchi b. Qochqar.<sup>1</sup>

If our surmise is correct, the terminus ante quem of the report is A.D. 1097, but the family tradition may have been considerably older, and the only course open to us is to check the date of the last waves of the migration which reached the shores of the Black Sea. This will oblige us to reverse the order of our survey and proceed from the West to the East.

- BAHR ARMĪNIYA. No sea, except the Lakes of Urmia or Van could be called "Armenian." The mistake in Marvazi (and 'Aufi) is obvious. In the chapter on the Turks (§13), the Majgharī are said to occupy the territory down to Bahr al-Rum, and, as the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from these lands, Bahr Armīniya must be restored as Bahr al-Rūmiya, a natural term for the Black Sea, see Chap. IX, §13.
- E. The Pechenegs (v.i. §10). In the famous passage of De administrando imperio (Chap. 37), Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that fifty, or fifty-five years before the composition of his book (written circa A.D. 048) the Khazars and the Oghuz (Ghuz) drove the Pechenegs from their former territory and the Pechenegs came to seize the land of the Magyars ( $T_{0\hat{\nu}\rho\kappa\sigma\iota}$  in Byzantine terminology), "which they occupy even to this day." According to Constantine's chronology, the territory near the Black Sea was reached by the Pechenegs shortly before A.D. 900, i.e. earlier than Apaoki laid the first foundations of the K'itan state (circa A.D. 907)! Consequently our report has in view some further movements among the Pechenegs. In 1036 Yaroslav of Kiev inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but down to the middle of the eleventh century they were active in the Balkans and on the Byzantine front. Under the year 1054 the Russian chronicles refer for the first time to the "Torks" (=Ghuz) and, simultaneously, to the Polovtsi (Qipchaq). In 1064 the Ghuz appear on the Danube, see Hudūd, 316.

Of great importance is the passage which Marquart, Komanen, 55, discovered in the Armenian historian Mattheos of Urha who sub anno 1050-1 says that a people of "Serpents" (avč-ic'n), having defeated the "Pallid, or Fallow ones (xartēš)," the latter did the same to the "Uz and Patsinnak," and finally the Pechenegs (perhaps with some others of the enumerated tribes) raided the Byzantine territory. The raid is confirmed by Byzantine sources,<sup>2</sup> but nothing else is known of its remote stimulus. In any case, it must not be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The identity of Äkinchi in 'Aufi's text with the governor of Khwarazm was discovered by Marquart, Komanen, 1914, but Barthold in his Turkestan, 1900, had already written on the said Khwārazmshāh (see Engl. transl., p. 324).

See the remarkable study by V. G. Vasilyevsky, Vizantiya i Pechenegi in Trudī, I,² 1908, 1-175, which remained unknown to Marquart, Komanen, 55.

imagined that Mattheos resumes the events of one single year, the migration on such a scale having evidently required a series of seasons. If we compare the passage of Mattheos with our text, his "Pallid ones" (a usual designation of the Koman-Qipchaq) may correspond to our Shārī/Sarī (in Turkish "yellow, pallid") and his "Serpents" to our Qun. Mattheos knew nothing of the Qay who had remained in the Far East.

We might remember at this place Constantine's testimony that after A.D. 889 some Pechenegs stayed back under the Ghuz dominion, which fact seems to be confirmed by the Hudūd (< Jayhānī). This part of the people may have become involved in the series of movements described in §3, and thus have added to the unrest in the southern Russian steppes occupied by the other Pechenegs.

F.G. The GHUZ and TÜRKMÄN. The rigorous distinction between the heathen and Muslim Ghuz (v.s. §2) has some chronological importance. Our sources on the beginnings of Islam among Turkomans are very scanty. From Gardīzī, 64, we learn that the chief of the "Ghuz Turks," with whom the last Samanid sought refuge in 391/1001, made profession of Islam and established marriage ties with his guest.<sup>2</sup> This shows how tardily Islam was finding its way into the steppes.3

The following details in our analysis merit special attention.

- (a) The great migration referred to by Marvazi is connected with the rise of the Qitay dynasty (907/1124).
- (b) The Qitay mbassy of 1027 must be responsible for the first mention of the Qay and Qun found in Biruni. Both nations are still placed east of the Khirkhiz. This suggests that the eastern part of the great migration began after A.D. 1027.
- (c) The Christianity of the Qun (Marvazi) also brings us down to the eleventh century.
- (d) The superiority of the Muslim Türkmäns over the heathen Ghuz similarly points to the eleventh century.
- (e) Marvazi's chain of migrations is not linked either with the Khazars or with the Majgharis, which can indicate that the former ceased to exist as an important state (second half of the tenth century), and the latter had already settled beyond the Carpathians (after A.D. 900).
- (f) As the first southward spread of the Pechenegs (shortly before A.D. 900) is chronologically out of the question, our source must refer to the second Pecheneg migration about the middle of the eleventh century.

<sup>1</sup> In the mouth of a Christian author, the nickname "Serpents" is somewhat un-

expected when applied to a tribe that is said to have professed Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, Turkestan, 269, and Ocherk istorii turkmen. naroda, 20, 22, identifies this Yabghū (or Pīghū) with an ancestor of the Seljuks, which gives the facts an added significance. [Puxuy, Pīγu "a kind of hawk", see Le Coq, Bemerk. zur türk. Falknerei, in Baessler-Archiv, 1912, II/5, p. 114].

3 As suggested above, p. 94, the term Türkmän in our §2 may be an anachronism introduced by Maryari integrals.

introduced by Marvazi into an earlier tradition.

(g) The Khwārazmshāh Äkinchi b. Qochqar, who died A.D. 1097. may have witnessed in his youth, or known through his father, the last stages of the great migration; the tribal tradition of the Oun was undoubtedly preserved in his family.

(h) Grosso modo the migration is to be located within the period

A.D. 1030-50, as already guessed by Marquart.<sup>1</sup>

It remains for us to eliminate one more complication. The final formation of the Oipchag state is attributed by Marquart, Komanen, 137, to the leadership of a family which, according to Chinese sources, had left the district of Wu-p'ing on the river Chê-lien, near the mountain of An-ta-han, see Bretschneider, II, 72. Marquart locates this region in the province of Jehol.<sup>2</sup> The prince who led the migration was K'ü-ch'u, and we are told that his grandson I-no-ssu was an old man when he submitted to Chengiz. This detail suggests that the emigration of K'ü-ch'u took place "about A.D. II20 at the latest," and Pelliot, J.A., April, 1920, p. 150, agrees with Marquart in placing it "in the beginning of the twelfth century." Marquart further thinks that K'ü-ch'u left his country in connection with the rise of the Kin (Jurje) in A.D. 1115 and the fall of the K'itan in A.D. 1125.

This particular migration of a Far Eastern tribe forms a curious parallel to the series described by Marvazi, but can hardly be identical with the latter. According to Marvazi the Qun left the Far East when the Qitay were still in power and the "beginning of the twelfth century" is also too late in consideration of the latest date found in the  $Tab\bar{a}'i'$  al-hayawān, namely, 514/1120. Marquart's assumption that K'ü-ch'u was a Hi is doubtful for by the time in question great changes must have taken place in the ethnical composition of Jehol. In any case, the Qun amir Äkinchi (d. A.D. 1093) could not be connected with the migration of K'ü-ch'u.

§4. The Khirkhīz. The beginning on orientation and burials is abridged in 'Aufi, ibid., lines 14-17. In the Hudūd the Khallukh and Kimak are similarly enumerated as neighbours of the Khirkhiz (§14), and a colony of the latter (§15, 13.) may have been in touch with the Yaghma and Kuchā (ibid., p. 273, lines 8-9); burning of the dead as in Mutahhar, IV, 22, and in Marvazi,3 but without the latter's record of a later change. Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, p. 87, also mentions the burning of the dead and the faghīnūn. The latter term is undoubtedly of Eastern-Iranian (Soghdian) origin and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Komanen, 57. Some of Marquart's arguments are wrong. Marquart himself corrected his interpretation of I. Athir, IX, 289, in his later article in *Ungar*. Jahrbücher, 1924, p. 276, note 5. His basic error is the confusion of the Far Eastern Qay with the Ghuz clan of Qayï (<Qayïgh).

<sup>2</sup> Wu-p'ing-lu is the territory of the "middle" capital of the K'itan (Ta-ting-fu under the Kin). It lies in the present territory of the Kharachin tribe, in the neighbourhood of Khada=Ch'ih-fèng (G. Haloun).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The recent (1939) Russian archaeological expedition to the ancient Qirghiz area on the left bank of the upper Yenisei discovered burial places (already pillaged at an early time) in which scattered, "sometimes charred" human bones were found.

connected with the word  $\beta agh$ , "God" (cf.  $faghf\bar{u}r$ ). The description of the practices of a Turkish shaman (qam) is very accurate.

§5. The beginning of this story seems to be a vague reference to the terrible defile of Kemchik-bom through which the Yenisei pierces the Sayan mountains. At some places the gorge is only 30 yards wide with the current rushing along at the speed of 40 miles an hour. The journey from Cha-kul (above the gorge) to Minusinsk lying in the plain used to take 3–5 days, see Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, 1914, I, 110. Further on, from Achinsk to Krasnoyarsk the river again flows through a mountainous landscape. The four watercourses must be the head-waters of the Yenisei rising in Uriangkhay (Tannu-Tuvim), viz. the Ulu-kem, formed of Bei-kem and Khuakem, and the Kemchik. Rashīd al-dīn calls the head-waters of the Yenisei *Sekiz-müren* ("the Eight rivers").

Nothing can be said about the people described in the second part of the item. The dogs "as large as oxen" remind one of the mysterious country called in Turkish It-baraq (\*Iti-baraq, "one whose dogs are hairy"). This name occurs in the story of Oghuz-khan's exploits, see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 23, Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 18, and Oghuz-name, §34. The particulars of It-baraq (Baraqa) are very contradictory. Marquart, Komanen, 146, compares its people with Volga Bulghars; Pelliot, T'oung-Pao, 1930, 337, sees in the name of its king Masar an echo of Miṣr (Egypt); Bang and Rachmati, SBA, 1932, read the name of the country \*Barqan, with reference to Kāshghari, I, 378, according to whom "the Lower Tavghaj is Barqan, i.e. Kāshghar." If my suggestion had some truth in it, we should look for It-baraq on the middle Yenisei.

The story which must go back to Jayhānī was translated by 'Aufi, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 100 = Nizāmu'd-dīn, o.c., No. 1967; summed up in Barthold, *Kirgizi*, 1927, 24.

§5 bis. This paragraph seems to be a more sober version of Chapter XV, §21.¹ Both refer to a region in the neighbourhood of Kāshghar which the epitomist has some difficulty in describing. The second passage is clearer in Muṭahhar, IV, 92, who says that a kind of nasnās ("faun") is found in the region of Bāmīr (Pamir), which is a desert (mafāza) stretching between Kashmīr, Tibet, Vakhān and China. The nasnās are covered with fur except on their faces, and leap like gazelles; the people of Vakhān hunt them and eat them. The animal may be the Ovis Poli (T. A. Minorsky). Kāshghari, born in the vicinity of Pamir, had to remove the nasnās to a farther terra incognita. On his Map some sands are shown to the north of the lake into which the rivers Ili, Irtish and Obi are supposed to disembogue, with the legend: "nasnās are said to live in this wilderness."

§5 ter. Two different items are wrongly coupled in this paragraph. The beginning corresponds to the description of the road

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Chapter IX, §§8 and 8 bis present a similar case of parallelism.

from Chinānjkath to the Khirkhīz, Gardīzī, 86, cf. H.-'A, 282. The wild people of the second part correspond to the Fūrī/Qūrī, whom the H.-'A. and Gardīzi place beyond and to the east of the Khirkhiz. Gardīzi's Persian translation, pp. 86–7, runs parallel with our text, the latter being fuller at the end. Muṭahhar, IV, 96, and the  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , §14, I. are brief, but the former adds two items: on a people living among the Turks which salts and eats the corpses of its enemies, and on another people "living in the north" (cf. §12 ter) existing like wild animals. All these details must go back to

Jayhānī.

Marvazi leaves out the name \*Qūrī, but it occurs in another paragraph (Chap. VIII, §35), which is also found in the H.-'A. (< Jayhānī?). In it the \*Quri are similarly placed in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz. The Hudūd (§14, 1.) describes the Fūrī (Qūrī?) as brutal cannibals having a language of their own, whereas in Gardizi's more detailed description the wild people seem to be the marsh-dwellers on the road to the large (or great?) tribe Fūrī(?) living at a distance of 2-3 months beyond the Khirkhiz. Even if easy stages of 30 Kms. be reckoned, a radius of 1800-2700 Kms. from the Yenisei takes us to the neighbourhood of the Khingan range, and even into Manchuria. If the Fūrī (Qūrī?) lived at the end of the road they must have been of Tunguz or Mongol stock. The form  $Q\bar{u}r\bar{i}$  is preferable to  $F\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ , because it is supported by other sources. In the Orkhon inscriptions a name Ourigan twice occurs in the series: "Qïrqïz, Qurïqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi." Rashīd al-din. ed. Berezin, VII, 168, refers to the peoples "Quri, Barghut, Tümät and Bāylūk, which he classes as Mongols<sup>2</sup> and places in the region called Barquiin-Tüküm in the neighbourhood of the Qirqiz. Barqūjīn, ibid., 108, 112, 168, 188, 189, is said to be beyond the Selenga, apparently in Transbaikalia.<sup>3</sup>

§6. The Kharlukh. Translated in 'Aufi, Marquart, Komanen, 40, lines 17-20. The mountain Tūnis (read: \* $T\bar{u}lis$ , as in the  $\dot{H}$ .-' $\dot{A}$ ., p. 283) must be Altai (or Tarbaghatai?). T.rk.s (read:  $T\bar{u}rgish$ ) is a welcome indication how  $Turkist\bar{u}n$  (?) in Gardizi's more complete text is to be restored, cf.  $\dot{H}$ .-' $\dot{A}$ ., p. 287. The  $\dot{H}$ .-' $\dot{A}$ . treats the Chigil and Tukhsi as separate tribes and so does Gardizi, o.c., 102. Marvazi may introduce here some later information, but the basic facts on the Türgish and Qarluq must belong to Jayhani. Of the other tribes,  $B\gamma skl$  ('Aufi:  $\dot{H}sky$ ) is otherwise unknown (in Transoxiana there was a place  $B.\gamma.sk\bar{u}n$ , see  $\dot{H}$ .-' $\dot{A}$ ., p. 355 (I. Hauqal, 396:  $M.sk\bar{u}n$ ). \* $Bul\bar{u}q$  is certainly better than Aufi's  $N.d\bar{u}$ : the tribe is mentioned as a Yaghma clan in the  $\dot{H}$ .-' $\dot{A}$ ., §13.  $Kwk.rk\bar{u}n$  ('Aufi:

¹ •Furi might be explained as a Tunguz word meaning "children, family, descendants," cf. Manchu furi, fursun, Goldi puri, as quoted in Pelliot, J.A., avril, 1925, p. 196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 521: Qūrī, Barqū, Qirqīz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The name is reflected in Russian Баргувин, as the north-eastern wind blowing on Baikal is called. Barguzin is also a small borough to the east of Baikal.

 $K.w\bar{a}l\bar{i}n$ ) may be connected with the title  $Kwd.rk\bar{i}n$ , known among the Ghuz, cf. H.- $^{\prime}A$ ., p. 312.

§7. The Kīmāk. The H.-' $\bar{A}$ ., §18, abridges the same source: nomads, sable-martens, migrations to the Ghuz territory. Gardīzī, 1 l.c., 83-4, gives a very close Persian parallel (cf. also the  $\bar{A}k\bar{a}m$ al-marjān, BSOS, IX/1, 1937, 147). A new detail is the use of skis by the Kimäk. The description is different from what is found in §12 ter.

§§8-9 have been closely translated into Persian by 'Aufi. The text (Br.Mus.Or. 2676, f. 67) was published and explained by Marquart in Ostas. Zeitschr., VIII, 1919-20, pp. 296-9, but Marvazi's text raises some new points. Through some oversight, Marvazi in his diffuse Chapter XV gives another variant of §8, which we treat here as §8 bis, and in it he happily indicates his source as al-Masālik wal-Mamālik, i.e. undoubtedly Jayhānī's lost work, as Marquart had guessed.

Owing to some misunderstanding there are a few discrepancies between the Arabic and Persian texts. As it stands, Marvazi's version can be understood only in the sense that (a) there were three nations living "to the right" of the Kimäk, and that (b) the dumb barter took place between the merchants and the Kimäks (cf. wa-vajī'u al-Kīmäkī and tajī'u al-Kīmākiya). It is obvious, however, that the story refers to some primitive population, much wilder than the Turkish Kimäks, and 'Aufi must be right in applying the report on dumb barter to the three nations "living to the right of the Kimak." But how could he have corrected what was incorrect in his source?

I think the explanation is that  $K\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}k\bar{\imath}$  of our copy of Marvazi is a mis-spelling of some different but similarly spelt name. Here the *Hudūd* comes to our rescue, while quoting among the Khirkhiz a tribe called K.saym, which I have tried to explain as \*Kishtim, ibid., 236. Rashid al-din's text, ed. Berezin, V, 89, VII, 112, spells the name K.st.mī, K.stymī. According to the Hudūd the K.saym living on mountain slopes had some traits of similarity with the Kīmāk and Khallukh. This indication points to their being neighbours of the said two nations, and I take it that the name of this tribe stood in Marvazi's text instead of Kīmāk, and was left out by 'Aufi because he was unable to decipher it. In Russian seventeenthcentury documents the Turkicized tributaries of the Qirghiz are indiscriminately referred to as Kishtim. In the present case also this name possibly covered the original "three tribes" living between the Kimäk and Khirkhiz.<sup>2</sup> By their origins the Kishtim must have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This is undoubtedly the original pronunciation of the name, the alif of the

Arabic form being only a mater lectionis.

2 Rashid al-din, VII, 112, under one heading describes three "bushmen" tribes: Urāsūt, Tälängūt and K.st.mī (\*Kishtīm).

belonged to the Samoyed stock or to the mysterious "Yenisei"

group.1

The tribes worshipped Fire and Water and, like the Khirkhiz (§4, cf. H.-A., §14), burnt their dead. This last habit may account for their reputation as Fire-worshippers, as was apparently the case with the ancient Rūs whom the Arab writers called *majūs*, in view of their burial system as described by I. Faḍlān, cf. Minorsky,  $R\bar{u}s$  in E.I.

The worshipping of waters may reflect the influence of the western neighbours of the K.saym. According to Gardīzī, p. 83, the  $K\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}k$  worshipped the Irtish and said: "the river is the god of the  $K\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}k$ ."

The indication "to the right of the Kīmāk" is naturally vague. As in Chap. VIII, §35, the expression "to the left of China" is interpreted by NE. we might take our "right" for SW. But as the observer's starting point was probably Bukhara, the indication "to the right" would apply to any southerly direction, from the Siberian plains towards the great belt of Central Asian mountains. According to the  $Hud\bar{u}d$  the K.saym (\*Kishtim) were trappers and lived in a hilly country, somewhere in the Altai region. As the merchants visiting them from the west used a waterway we should think either of the Irtish or Obi, and rather the former, because the sweep of the Obi would make the journey too long.<sup>2</sup>

Marquart attached a special importance to 'Aufi's mention that 'the merchandise of that land is copper cups (of) clean (work)." He connected this detail with the "Southern Siberian copper and bronze civilisation" of the region between the Irtish and Yenisei. However, in the light of Marvazi's text we must understand the passage in the sense that copper cups were not a local product but rather the product in particular demand among the three tribes. Marvazi definitely states that the cups were used as ornaments by their women, and refers to another article of importation, "the red bags (al jurab al-humr?)," which 'Aufi left out in his translation.

 $\S 9$ . The record of this undotted name apparently goes back to Jayhānī, but has survived only in Marvazi (and 'Aufi). Looking from the Kimäk region, the *qibla*, i.e. the direction of the Ka'ba, is SW. More probably the *qibla* is meant in the general sense of the south. Apparently the tribe of  $\S 9$  lived more to the west than the tribes of  $\S 8$ . On the strength of 'Aufi's spelling M.dr.ba Marquart thought of the Uralian people Meshchera (Mishar) living among the Bashkir, but did not himself insist on this unlikely surmise. The final element of the name is of course the Arabic suffix -iyya. The name may then be read BSR, NSR, YSR, and eventually BSRA, BSRI, etc. An initial n is improbable in a Turkish name, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Aristov, Etnicheskiy sostav turetskikh plemen, in Zhivaya Starina, 1896, III, 323, 340. Of the Yenisei peoples (apparently corresponding to the people called by the Chinese Ting-ling), there remains now only a small group of Kett (improperly called "Yenisei Ostiaks").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Unless the Vas-Yugan portage were used.

Arabic s may stand for c. Our tribe lived in the woods, somewhere in the Altai region, and can not have anything to do with the BASRA, whom the still suspect letter of the Khazar king locates in the neighbourhood of the Khazar, cf. H.-'A., 471. Should 'Aufi's form \*MSR be preferred, one might compare it with the name of one of the headwaters of the Tom river, called Mras-su. Mras (Maras?), with metathesis of the r, comes very near to \*Masar.¹ None of the names of the ''bushmen'' tribes in Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 112-7, is similar to MSR.

§10. The Pechenegs. Entirely as in Gardizi, p. 95. The abridgment of the H.-'A., preserves only a few traces of the original source which refers to the time before the Pechenegs migrated to the south, i.e. before the tenth century A.D. Bakri, pp. 42–3, is more complete and adds some details on the conversion of the Pechenegs to Islam after 400/1009. On the Pechenegs see also §§2 and 3.

§II. The Khazar. See I. Rusta, 141-2, and Gardizi, 96 (who alone gives the same detail on the fortification of the camp); the geographical names also found in the H.- $^{\prime}A$ ., §50 (see the Commentary, ibid., pp. 450-60). Bakri, 43-4, mentions the same two towns, but gives more details (on the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism).

In the H-'A-, 453-4, I suggested that the names of the later town  $S.qs\bar{\imath}n$  was nothing but a simplification of the earlier Sārigh-shin (-sin?). The name of the other town (which probably lay on the eastern side of the Volga estuary) cannot be restored with certainty, but Marvazi increases the probability of a form like Kh.t-baligh,

Kh.n-baligh, etc. (though hardly Khān-baligh!).

§12. The B.RDAS. As in I. Rusta, 140-1, H.-'A., §52, and Gardizi, 96. Even the name  $B.rd\bar{a}s$  (Bakri:  $F.rd\bar{a}s$ ) is characteristic for the older tradition (Jayhānī < I. Kh.?) as against the form Burtās found in Istakhrī, Mas'ūdī, etc. The tribe is usually identified with the Mordvans, or rather with the Moksha section of them. H.-A., 462-5. There is some obscurity in the item on the emancipation of the Burdas females. Chwolson, who edited the passages from I. Rusta in 1869, interpreted it in the sense that the girl is free in choosing her lovers, until a suitor applies for her to her father and the latter gives her away to him. Our text seems to confirm this curious habit. The reading adopted by de Goeje in I. Rusta, 141, indefinitely speaks of a suitor to whom the father gives the girl away, subject to her (variant: his) consent. Gardīzi's Persian translation definitely states that the girl chooses the suitor who (ān mard) then asks her father for her. This renders the text clearer but seems to contradict the preliminary statement that the girl "abandons the authority of her father" and the use of khaṭībun instead of the expected al-khatīb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Oghuz-name, Chap. XXXIV, speaks of the king (sic) Masar (?) in the land Baraqa, but the characteristics of the latter are vague and contradictory, v.s. §5.

§§12 bis, ter and quater form one block of information centring round the Bulghar. 'Aufi, in his Persian translation, very closely follows Marvazi but leaves out certain details. Marquart, Ein arabischer Bericht uber die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhunderte, in Ungarische Jahrbücher, 1924, pp. 261–334, has studied 'Aufi's text in great detail, and also, 302–3, examined the problem of the sources.

His conclusions need partly to be re-examined. The difficult question of the origin of Marvazi's additional paragraphs can be summed up as follows:

- (a) We now know that 'Aufi's immediate source was Marvazi. 'Aufi translates even the introductory paragraph of the  $Tab\bar{a}'i'$  on the lack of temperance (or "harmony") in the men living far from the Equator, one of Marvazi's favourite themes!
- (b) It is a fact that I. Rusta, the <u>Ḥudūd</u> and Gardīzi, of whom at least the latter two certainly used Jayhāni, omit the paragraph on Arctic lands and give a different description of the Bulghar. Very curiously they call the latter people <u>Bulkār</u>, which detail seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also <u>Burdās</u> for <u>Burtās</u>). We have to allow for the existence of earlier and later copies of Jayhāni's work, of which the former must have contained the "Bulkār-Burdās" report,¹ and the latter made use of the new information due to I. Fadlān.
- (c) It is true that the known texts of I. Fadlān's report do not contain the details of Marvazi's chapter, but even the Mashhad MS. of I. Fadlān is incomplete.<sup>2</sup> Some additional details may have survived in the private communications which I. Fadlān addressed to his protector Jayhānī, as suggested above, p. 7. Under §12 bis the points of similarity between I.F. and Marvazi are enumerated and a point of divergence explained, and I should not discard I.F.'s responsibility for at least a part of Marvazi's facts.
- (d) In Biruni's biography found in Yāqūt's Irshād al-arīb, VI, 310, it is reported³ how "an ambassador from the extreme limits of the Turks" angered Sultan Maḥmūd by telling him that "beyond the sea, in the direction of the southern (sic) Pole," he saw the sun rotate visibly above the earth. This is very much like the detail on Arctic regions found in §12 quater. The Turks are pre-eminently a northern nation, and "southern" instead of "northern" may have crept into the anecdote by mistake. Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali Bayhaqi's Tārīkh-i Bayhaq (563/1164), recently published in Tehran (1317/1938), throws more light on the possible identity of the ambassador. It reports, p. 53, that in 415/1024 the padishah "of Bulghār and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The "Bulkār-Burdās" report was possibly incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih, as suggested by Barthold with regard to the description of the "Bulkār" in I. Rusta, Bakri and Gardīzi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See [Krachkovsky], Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana, Leningrad, 1939.

³ Possibly on the authority of the Maqāmāt-i Abū Naṣr Mashkānī by Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi.

regions which go by the name of Bulghar (sic)," namely, al-amīr Abū-Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. B.lt.vār had a dream suggesting that he should send an offering (māl) to Bayhaq, in the region of Nishapur, to be spent on alms (nafaqa) and the embellishment ('imārat) of the Friday mosques of Sabzavar and Khusraugird. He sent rich offerings and joined to them wonderful presents for the padishah of Khorasan, "the like of which wonders has never been seen." No doubt the gifts were intended for Sultan Maḥmūd.1 This may have been the occasion on which the record of information on the Far North was completed by the court savants just as was done two years later with regard to the Far East, see Chap. VIII, §22. Copies of the report could easily have been circulated in Khorasan.

- (e) Resemblance between Marvazi and Biruni can be traced not only in the Tafhīm (A.D. 1029), but also in the earlier Tahdīd alamākin (A.D. 1025), and in the later Canon Masudicus (A.D. 1030?), as shown below in §12 ter.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the idea of his borrowing directly from him is by no means out of the question, but as yet we know of no work of Biruni's containing an equally detailed account of the northern lands, cf. A. Z. Validi, Die Nordvölker bei Biruni, in ZDMG, 1936, pp. 38-51. Nor does the artless narration of Marvazi (and his original?) bear any resemblance to the ponderous and characteristic style of the "Muslim Eratosthenes."
- (f) Even the latest date found in the Tabā'i' (514/1120) is too early to allow of any contact between Marvazi and Abū Hāmid of Granada, who claims to have stayed in Sakhsin (ancient Sārigh-sīn, at the estuary of the Volga) in 525/1131 and 528/1134, and visited Bulghar in 530/1136; see Ferrand, Le Tuhfat al-Albāb, in Jour. As., juillet, 1925, pp. 116, 123, 132. It is quite possible though that the visitor from Spain used some of Marvazi's sources while embellishing them with the flowers of his fantasy, v.i. §12 quater. Meanwhile Abū Ḥāmid has preserved some details ("Black Sea") which help to elucidate dark points in Marvazi's condensed narration.

Provisionally only I. Fadlan (A.D. 921) and the Bulghar embassy of A.D. 1024 may be considered as the likely indirect sources of Marvazi. §12 bis. As already mentioned, the contents of this paragraph

differ from what is found in I. Rusta, 141-2, Gardīzi, 97 (who exactly follows I. Rusta) and Bakri, 44-5.3 Marvazi has the following details in common with I. Fadlan: the name Bulghar (instead of Bulkar found in I. Rusta, etc.), the title of the king (absent in I.R., H.-'A. and Gardīzi), the town of \*Suvār, the existence of hazel trees in the Bulghar land and, particularly, the short duration of the night, insufficient "for the cooking of a pot (of meat)," cf.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In September, 1024, Maḥmūd was in Balkh, cf. M. Nazim, S. Maḥmūd, p. 53.
 <sup>2</sup> According to Rieu Marvazi directly refers to Abū Rayḥān Birūnī, v.s. p. 2.
 <sup>3</sup> The Hudūd, §51, is too short and combines the Jayhānī and Balkhi (Iṣṭakhri) traditions. Through Balkhi he may have incorporated some of I. Faḍlān's facts.

I. Fadlan in the Mashhad MS. 204b, 206b, and 205b, and in Yaqut, I, 723<sub>11</sub>, 726<sub>17</sub>, 725<sub>22</sub>. As I. Fadlan travelled from Khwārazm to Bulghār, the bearing (N.W.) and the distance between the two places may also go back to him. I. Fadlan, Mashhad MS. 203b, estimates the distance at 70 days, as confirmed in *Puteshestviye*, note 308, but in the passage on the preparations for his journey, fol. 199a, he states that the embassy took victuals for three months! Cf. also Marquart's surmise, o.c., 266, of a possible confusion of sab'īn (" $70^{1}$ ) and  $tis^{1}\bar{t}n$  (" $90^{1}$ ).

The title of the Bulghar king is separately quoted in §15: Btltw, which is no doubt identical with I. Fadlan's B.ltwar, see Puteshestvive. f. 204a and note 8. Both forms may be an ancient mis-spelling of the original \*Yiltavar, or Yiltever (?), cf. Hudūd, 461, identical with eltäbär found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In our text the name is mutilated, the initial b standing apparently for the Arabic preposition bi.1

In the Mashhad MS. S.vān represents \*Suvār; Işt., 225, quotes Suvar on the direct authority of someone who was preaching in the local mosque (akhbaranī man kāna yakhṭubu bihā). Visitors from Suvār, especially of a non-trading class, could not be numerous in Transoxiana. It is true that I. Fadlan, f. 204b, mentions a special khātib (sic) in Bulghār, but, in view of the vagueness of his own function in the embassy with which he visited Bulghar, he himself might have been referred to in Transoxiana as al-khatīb.<sup>2</sup> The distance between Suvār and Bulghār is not recorded in I. Faḍlān's text, but the formula akhbaranī in Ist. (<Balkhi) suggests an oral communication.

§12 ter. I. Fadlan's text contains only some scanty information on Wisū which the traveller gathered from the Bulghar king, Puteshestviye, ff. 206a, 207b, 208a, and Yagut, IV, 944.3

Biruni in his Canon enumerates side by side Bulghār. Īsū and Yūra

The two towns Suvār and Bulghār, on the river of the Rūs and Saqāliba (or: in the	Long.	Lat.
direction (*fi naḥw) of the R. and S.)	8°o (?)	49°30
The country *Isū with which the Bulgharians trade	69°0	55°0
The forests of Yūra whose inhabitants are wild and trade by dumb barter (mu'aya-		
natan)	63°o	47°30

<sup>1</sup> I. Fadlan calls the king reigning in 309/921 Almush b. Shilkī (later renamed Ja'far b. 'Abdillāh), but in the introductory paragraph the king's name is Ḥasan

b. Baltavār. On the king reigning in 415/1024 (v.s. p. 111).

<sup>2</sup> Already Barthold in his note on I. Fadlān's risāla, Zap., XXI, 1913, XLI-III, suggested that Iṣtakhri's reference was to I. Fadlān. Marquart, Arktische Länder, 266, calls I. Fadlān khatīb, and 319, "Prädiger."

<sup>3</sup> I.F. places them at 3 months' distance from the Bulghar, while Marvazi (and Biruni in Tahdīd, as translated by A. Z. Validi, o.c., 50) reduces the distance to 20 days. Apparently I.F.'s text refers to summer communications by water, and Marvazi's to travelling by sleigh, as suggested by our text.

The captions present some interest, but the co-ordinates are out of order. As Biruni usually proceeds in the order of increasing longitudes, his enumeration apparently suggests for the Wīsū an easterly position with regard to the Bulghar, but the text, in its present state, is unreliable. The indication that the Bulghars traded with the Isū coincides with Abū Ḥāmid's story.

Since Fraehn it has been accepted that the Wisū are the Finnish Ves (\*Veps) whom the Russian Chronicles place near Belo-ozero and whose descendants (some 25,000) are still found between Lakes Onega and Ladoga.¹ The form Wisū (I. Faḍlān) seems to be preferable to Isū, which may be due to a confusion of the initial waw with alif.

The term Yūra is identical with Russian Yugra, cf. Ibn Fadl-Allāh al-'Umari, transl. Quatremère in Notices et Extraits, XIII, 284: Yūghra. Prof. S. V. Bakhrushin, Ostiatskiye i vogulskiye kniazhestva v xvi-xvii vekakh, Leningrad, 1935, writes that in the eleventh century the Novgorodians applied the name Yugra to the Ugrian peoples (i.e. cognate with Hungarians) who were living between the Pechora river and the Ural mountains. Novgorodians penetrated into their country after they had subjugated the Pechora tribes (probably Komi-Žiryans). In the first place the term Yugra was applied to the tribes which later were called the Ostiak, but among the latter there were certainly some Vogul tribes as well. The terms Yugra (\*Yogra-yaz) and Vogul ("wild") belong originally to the Komi language. Later the Ostiaks moved eastwards, and in the fourteenth century they were in occupation of the lower reaches of the Obi. Still later Yugra, in a territorial sense, was understood to cover the basin of the rivers Sosva and Sigva.

Within our group of Muslim texts, Marvazi states that Bulghārs visit Yūra by dog-sleighs; Abū Ḥāmid (v.i.) does not refer to Yūra on the road Bulghār-Wīsū-the sea, and Bīrūnī, Taḥdīd, gives a distance of 12 days by sleigh from Isū to Yūra. These latter indications suggest that Yūra lived on one side, and probably to the east, of the Bulghār-Wīsū road. Since the distance (as the crow flies) of 850 kms. between Bulghār and Belo-ozero was covered in 20 days, the distance of 12 days (circa 550 kms.) traced to the east of Belo-ozero would hardly reach the Yugra territory. At the most it would take us to the wooded basin of the Vīchegda, which even in the tenth century was presumably occupied by Permians (Komi-Zīryan).

The agreement of Biruni's caption on forests and dumb barter with Marvazi is an indication of a common source. Another example of dumb barter and contrivances for walking in snow is found in the description of the Kimäk region (§§7-8 bis); but the wooden

¹ According to M. V. Talitsky, K ethnogenezu Komi, in Krat. soobshcheniya Inst Istor Mater. Kult., 1941, pp. 47-54, the Isu, as described by Gharnati, 'Aufi and Yāqūt, should be located on the upper Kama. Such questions cannot, however, be solved without a joint study of the available sources and their interdependence. On Yugra see above, p. 100.

skis of the Kimäk are distinct from the thigh-bone skates (?) which the Yūra people attached to their feet, to say nothing of the dog-sleighs used by the Bulgharians. For the parallels see Marquart's commentary on 'Aufi, o.c., 289, 309, where he quotes for dog-sleighs (our §12 bis), M. Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 479–81, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 399–401; for skates, Rubruquis, ed. d'Avezac, p. 327, and for skis Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezine, VIII, 115.1

§12 quater. Marvazi and his translator 'Aufi are positive about the "coast people" living "beyond Yūra," but if the usual identification of the Wisū/Isū and Yūra is true, the road Bulghār-Wisū-Yūra could not have formed a short cut to the northern sea. Abū Hāmid Gharnāti, ed. Ferrand, 118, quotes a curious story about the Bulghārs taking to Wiswā (sic) blades from Adharbayjān. These weapons, unpolished, but well tempered and giving a good ring, were exchanged for beaver pelts (qunduz). On their part the Wiswā carried the blades to "a country adjacent (qarīna) to the region of Darkness (al-Zulumāt) and overlooking the Black Sea" and exchanged them for sable pelts.2 The inhabitants of this maritime country "throw the blades into the sea<sup>3</sup> and God causes a fish as big as a mountain to come up to them. Being pursued by a still larger fish, it approaches the coast. Then men in boats begin to cut it up and fill their houses with its flesh and oil." Abū Ḥāmid may have expanded the similar story found in I. Fadlan, f. 208a, or may himself have picked it up in Bulghar (in 530/1136). The point which interests us is that the Wīswā are said to be in direct communication with the coast-dwellers (Marvazi: sāhiliyyūn), while the Yūra are not mentioned on the road to the sea (v.s.). This version may be taken as an indication that the coast-dwellers are to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the White Sea. In point of fact the Ves lived in a knot of fluvial communications and could easily reach this sea by the Onega.

F. Nansen, In Northern Mists, Engl. transl., 1911, II, 146, says that the coast-dwellers "may have been Samoyeds (on the Pechora), Karelians, Terfinnas and even Norwegians." In view of Abū Ḥāmid's text, the first eventuality should drop. It would be strange too if the Bulghārians intended their blades for the Norwegians, who could obtain such weapons nearer home. Moreover, the Norwegians made only occasional raids into the White Sea. The remaining candidates are the Finns (Karelians), or more probably

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A bad mutilation of the report is found in Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Marvarūdhī (A.D. 1206), ed. E. D. Ross, 39: "In the country of the Turks (Turkistān) there is a forest called 'the forest of Laura (read:  $Y\bar{u}ra$ )'. The inhabitants of it are wild and do not mix with anyone", after which the procedure of the dumb barter is described.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The mention of the beavers and sables may serve as a clue for the identification of the two territories.

<sup>A possible reference to some harpooning operation (?)
Muslim geographers speak of the "Sulaymānian" swords of the Rūs, see Ḥudūd,
437, and the special study by A.Z. Validi, Die Schwerter der Germanen, ZDMG, 1936,
19-37. I take sulaymānian for a hint at Qor'ān, XXXIV, 10-12.</sup> 

the Lapps, whose traces Prof. Vasmer has detected in the toponymy of the region stretching south of the White Sea down to Lake Onega.3

The new detail of our text is the Black Land (ard saudā) found beyond the coast-dwellers. This land has no parallels in Muslim geographical literature though it seems probable that this term has some connection with the "Black Sea" of Abū Hāmid, which he identifies further on, p. 91, with the Sea of Darkness (al-bahr al-aswad allādhī yu'raf bi bahr al-zulumāt), i.e. with the Arctic Ocean on which the ideas of Muslim scholars were vague. 4 Consequently the "Black Land" may be either a misunderstanding meant for the "Black Sea,"<sup>5</sup> or else, starting from the White Sea, we might take it for the Kola peninsula which until the recent discovery of its mineral wealth, was very sparsely populated.6

We come now to the last interesting point of §12 quater, namely, the statement that a voyager sailing in the direction of the North Pole reaches a point at which "the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months." Marvazi puts this statement almost hypothetically. and one might take it for an echo of some astronomic speculation. The anecdote, which Yāqūt quotes in his Irshād al-arīb, gives a personal turn to the story. The "Turkish" ambassador who boasted of having witnessed the phenomenon seems to have been the Bulghārian envoy who brought presents to Sultan Maḥmūd A.D. 1024. By an astonishing coincidence, in the *Tahdīd* (composed in 1025) Bīrūnī refers to the coast-dwellers of the Sea of Varangians. adding that "in summer time one of them on his hunting and raiding expedition sails so far into that sea that in the direction of the North Pole he reaches a spot where at the summer solstice the sun rotates above the horizon. He observes this and boasts to his people, saying that he has reached a place which has no night in it."8

I am inclined to connect this statement (as well as our §12 quater) with the Bulgharian envoy's report (A.D. 1024), but, on the other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marquart, o.c., 324-7, was inclined to identify the quarrelsome seafarers with some Lapp tribe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Lappen und Permier in Nordrussland, SBA, hist.-

<sup>-</sup> Die enemaise Ausbreitung der Lappen und Permier in Nordrussland, SBA, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1936, 176-270.

3 Alan S. C. Ross, The Terfinnas and Beormas of the Ohthere, Leeds, 1940, identifies Terfinnas with the Lapps of the Terskiy bereg (Kola peninsula) and Beormas (Bjarmar) with Karelians ("in all probability"). We know that Lapps were formerly found down to the immediate neighbourhood of Archangel Gulf.

4 A. Z. Validi, Nordvölker, 46: "Freilich scheint Biruni keine klare Vorstellung von dem Unterschied zwischen Nord-und Ostsee einerseits und dem Weissen Meer anderseits gehabt zu haben."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Marvazi's text is clear in opposing this Black Land to the voyage by sea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I thought at first of a hint at Spitzbergen (ancient Svalbard, which might have been misunderstood as \*Svartbard), but Icelandic annals speak of its discovery only under A.D. 1194. See R. Hennig, Terrae incognitae, II, pp. 377 and 379. Even the identity of Svalbard with Spitzbergen is not quite clear.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the Baltic, confused with the White Sea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> As the original is not available I am obliged to translate this passage from Prof. A. Z. Validi's German version. Cf. Hudūd, 181-2.

hand, I do not see how this report could be an echo of the circumnavigation of the North Cape<sup>1</sup> by Ohthere whose authentic communication submitted to King Alfred has no trace of any similar statement.

The originality of Biruni is that he seems to be the first Muslim writer<sup>2</sup> to use the name *Varank* (Waring, old Russian *Varegu*), and to call by it what appears to be the Baltic. But Bīrūnī did not clearly distinguish between the latter and the White Sea, and in the process of compilation he apparently pieced together two different reports, whereas in Marvazi, etc., there is no trace of the Baltic.

The natural phenomenon referred to in Marvazi needs to be taken cum grano salis. As Marquart, o.c., 311, points out, the idea that a year at the Pole consists of one day and one night, each of the duration of half-a-year belongs to Greek tradition. Prof. Neugebauer calculated for Marquart, o.c., 331-4, the latitudes at which some real phenomena are observed which may have suggested the story found in Marvazi, etc.

					Latitude
A summer day	of 24 hou	rs			65·6°–66°
A winter night	of 24 hou	rs			66·6°-67·2°
A summer day of	of 40 days	and a win	ter nig	ht of	
40 days³					$\pm 68^{\circ}$

Roughly speaking, these latitudes coincide with the White Sea and the Kola peninsula, and were within reach of the coast-dwellers.

§13. With the paragraph on the Majghari we return to the original Jayhānī tradition (v.s. §12). See I. Rusta, 142–3, H.-'A., §22, Gardīzī, 98, and Bakri, 45 (confused), cf. H.-'A., 456, and my article Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au  $X^e$  siècle, in Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie, avril, 1937, pp. 305–12.

§14. The SLAVS. See I. Rusta, 143-5, H.-'A., §43, Gardīzi,

99-100, Bakri, 28-9.

Apart from Mas'ūdī, Murūj, III, 61-5, (cf. Marquart, Osteuropäische Streifzüge, 85-160), and Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, (ed. Rosen, 33-42), other early authors writing in Arabic and Persian had a confused idea of the territory occupied by Slavs, as distinguished from the Rūs. In my commentary on the H.-'A., 427-32, I have summed up the evidence indicating that the principal centre of the Slavs was supposed to be in Moravia and in the basin of the middle Danube and its tributaries. Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 124, 154. The H.-'A. speaks of a group of Slavs among the Rūs (§44). I. Faḍlān, ff. 198a, 207b (?), calls the king of Bulghār 'king of the Slavs,' and elsewhere (Yāqūt, II, 440) speaks of Slavs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. Z. Validi, o.c., 46, "Bei dem Zitat aus dem Tahdīd uber die Polarfahrt eines Warägers scheint es sich um eine Variante der Erzählung baltisch-nordischen Händler uber die kühne Reise . . . des aus dem Norden Norwegens stammenden Ottar zu handeln."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But see Ḥudūd, 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> According to Abū Hāmid, quoted in Qazvini, Āthār al-bilād, 418, the country of Yūra possessed this characteristic.

as subjects of the Khazars. Marvazi (§10) and Gardīzi, 95, repeat the report on the [Eastern] Slavs counter-attacking the Pechenegs.

The naive indication that the Slavs burn their dead "because they are fire-worshippers" may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs al-majūs. Ya'qūbī, BGA, VII, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Sevilla in 229/843: al-Majūs allādhīna yuqālu lahum al-Rūs. In a famous passage I. Fadlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed: "the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead," cf. Minorsky, Rūs, in E.I. Gardīzi must have mis-read nīrān into thīrān, "bulls," for in his Persian book he calls the Slavs "cowworshippers"!

The detail of the Slav king feeding on milk (H.-'A.), or more precisely on mare's milk (I. Rusta, Marvazi), is curious. As mare's milk¹ is a typically Turkish drink it is possible that our source refers to some dynasty of Turkish origin lording it over some Slavs.² The Avar domination in south-eastern Europe was crushed by Charlemagne between A.D. 79I-805, and there are very few references to the Avars in Muslim literature, (v.s. p. 64). The detail interesting us may point to the early date of the original record, but it is possible that the local Slav aristocracy connected with the once dominant race carried on for some time the habits of the latter.

In his translation of Orosius, King Alfred the Great (A.D. 848?—900) incorporated two additional geographical reports, one by the Norwegian Ohthere (v.s. p. 116) and the other by the Dane (?) Wulfstan describing his voyage to the Vistula (towards A.D. 800, cf. F. Nansen, o.c., I, 104). According to Wulfstan the Vistula separates Weonodland ("the land of the Slave") from Witland belonging to the Este. Witland corresponds to East Prussia and the Este are the ancient Aestii, i.e. probably the original Prussians (a Baltic people belonging to the same family as the present-day Lithuanians and Letts). Wulfstan proceeds: "The land of the Este is very large, and contains a great many forts, and there is a king in each fort, and it contains a great quantity of honey and fish; and the king and the wealthy classes drink mare's milk, but the poor and the slaves drink mead" (translated for me by Mrs. N. K. Chadwick). The inhabitants burnt their dead and divided the latter's property into prizes for which races were run by horsemen. The details of mare's milk, mead and the burning of the dead are parallel to our §14 on the Slavs. The detail of the races increases the impression that there may have been some "Turkish" elements among the Prussians.

The name of the Slav king seems to refer to the Moravian king Svetopluk I (870-94). In Arabic it was transcribed \*Swyt-blk, of which the final element was confused with mlk (i.e. malik, "king") and finally eliminated. For the name of the second ruler Marvazi adds one more variant, sh.rīh (\*sh.rīj or sh.rīkh), but no better

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Especially the fermented preparation called qumis. Cf. Chap. IX, §7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. Niederle in Revue des Études Slaves, II, 1922, 32.

explanation of it has yet been found than Chwolson's \* $sh\bar{u}banj < \check{z}upanec$  (?), although the available variants begin with  $\check{s}$ -, which in Arabic would more likely represent an original  $\check{s}$  or  $\check{c}$ . On the name of the town see H.- ${}^{\dot{c}}A$ ., 430.

The details on lutes are more complete in Marvazi. The distinguished musicologist Dr. H. Farmer, to whom I communicated my passage, very kindly gave me the following explanation: "The malāwī are the tuning pegs on any stringed instrument. Every string is fixed by a knot at one end of the instrument, generally by being tied through a hole or around a short peg or button. string is then stretched over the surface of the instrument to the other extremity, where it is tied to a "tuning peg" (malwā). This 'tuning peg' the performer turns (valwī) when he wishes to tune the string to its proper note. The  $malw\bar{a}$  is always at the head of the instrument, and in lutes is either fixed directly (mustawī) into a hole in the head, or else the  $malw\bar{a}$  goes into a hole in what we call a peg-box (banjak, banjak, bunjuq). The lute of the Slavs, according to your MS., did not have a peg-box for the tuning-pegs. The latter were fixed directly and perpendicularly into the head of the instrument. (Dr. Farmer annexes a sketch of the two systems.) It would appear that the Slavonic lute was either the balalaika or the goudok because it did not have a round, vaulted sound-chest, but a flat (musattah) one."

§15. The Rūs. For the first part see I. Rusta, 145–7,  $\dot{H}$ .-' $\dot{A}$ ., §44, Gardīzi, 100–1, Bakrī, 34–40. The story of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity and then to Islam was copied by 'Aufi, whose text was edited and translated by Barthold in Zap. Vost. Otd., IX, 1895 (1896), pp. 262–7.¹ 'Aufi translates Marvazi word for word, repeating the date "300" and the name of the Bulghār king in the form  $B.t.lt\bar{u}$ . The date, 300/912, is wrong, the second and the third figures having been omitted in the text (cf. a similar mistake in the date of Zurqān's death, p. 128).²

The Russians were baptised A.D. 988 or 989 (378-9 H.), but Ibn al-Athir, IX, 30, who knows the circumstances of the marriage of Vladimir to the sister of the emperors Basil and Constantine, speaks of the conversion sub anno 375/985-6, cf. Dimishqi, tr. Mehren, 378. As Marvazi quotes the name of Vladimir (older Volodimer), he cannot refer to any other occasion, for there was

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  Barthold's posthumous article, "Arab Sources on Russians" in <code>Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye</code> (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.), I, 1941, is inaccessible to me.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  The Bahjat al-tawārīkh of Shukrullāh (A.D. 1456) and the still later  $J\bar{a}mi'$  altawārīkh of Muhammad Za'īm (A.D. 1578) change the date of the conversion respectively to 303 and 333, see Hammer, Les origines russes, 1827, 48, 65–6, as quoted by Barthold.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  In  $bwladm\bar{i}r$ , the initial b stands for Arabic preposition bi, as in bi- $kh\bar{a}q\bar{a}n$  which follows it. 'Aufi, however, took the whole complex for the name of the prince  $B\bar{u}l\bar{a}dhm\bar{i}r$ , possibly with a popular Persian etymology "prince of steel" ( $p\bar{u}l\bar{a}dh-m\bar{i}r$  ''Stalin''). In I. Hajar's bibliographical dictionary  $Durar\ al$ - $k\bar{a}mina$ , Haydarabad,

only one Vladimir in the fourth century H. Russian annals report that before his conversion to Byzantine orthodoxy Vladimir had made enquiries about the other faiths. His embassy, composed of ten men, visited the Muslim Bulghars on the Volga. Islam was finally rejected on the ground that "drinking wine was a joy of the Russians." As Barthold remarks, there would be nothing improbable in the admission that the envoys had also visited Khwarazm, from which the Bulghars themselves sought religious instruction.

Two details in our story must be considered:

- (a) Some years must have elapsed before the "shrinking of livelihood," concomitant with Christian principles, could become manifest.
- (b) For that the personal name Vladimir might have become a generic designation, several princes in succession must have borne it. Now after Saint Vladimir, who died A.D. 1015, the second important ruler of this name was Vladimir Monomach (born in 1053, prince of Pereyaslavl from 1097, prince of Kiev, 1113-25), the fame of whose exploits against the nomad Polovtsi<sup>1</sup> must have reached Khwārazm. The chronicles praise Monomach for his unimpeachable orthodoxy, but some minor princes or noblemen involved in feudal struggles might well have sought refuge as ar away as Khwārazm,2 and even have expressed a desire to embrace Islam.

In its general bearing the story is but a variation of Muslim criticism of Manichaeism and Christianity as exercising an effeminating influence on their votaries. Mutatis mutandis, it is even reminiscent of the refusal of the Turkish (Türgish) khaqan to accept Islam at the request of the caliph Hishām (105-25/724-43). The khaqan held a review of his army and said to the envoy: "These men have no barbers, no cobblers, no tailors; if they accept Islam and follow its prescriptions, whence will their food come?" Yāqūt, I, 839 (commented on by Marquart in Festschrift f. F. Hirth, 289-93). The story is already found in I. Fagih.

The indication respecting the protective chains in Constantinople raises several interesting points. The term khalīj means both "a gulf" and "straits". I. Khurdādhbih, 103-4, uses it in the latter

<sup>1350,</sup> IV, 408, No. 1124, N. A. Poliak has found a curious name,  $W.l\bar{a}dmr$  (var.  $W.l\bar{a}dwy$ ). The traditionalist W.lādmr b. 'Abdillāh al-Sayfi was a client of 'Bägtämür al-Sāqī al-'Azīzī, and lived 644-710/1246-1310. It is likely that *W.lādmr* corresponds to *Vladimir*. The name may have been used by the Turks on the assumption that -dmr is \*dāmür 'iron.' On the other hand, the close relations between Egypt and Qipchaq (i.e. the steppes of Southern Russia) make it quite possible that the family, like many others, was of Russian origin. The father's name, 'Abdullāh, is a usual name among converts to Islam. It can even be a translation of "Theodore."

1 He had 83 major expeditions to his credit. He made peace 19 times with the

Polovtsi with whom (down to 1093 alone) he had fought 12 battles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. the story of Sviatopolk of Kiev, who after his defeat by his brother Yaroslav, A.D. 1019, fled to the Pechenegs, *The Novgorod Chronicle*, pp. 83-4; Engl. transl., Camden Third Series, 1914, p. 2.

sense while saying that at the western outlet of the khalīj (Dardanelles) there stands a tower "in which there is a chain preventing the Muslim ships from entering the khalīj." On the other hand, he says that at the (eastern) entrance (fūha) to the khalīj (Bosphorus) there is a town called \*Musannāt. Mas'ūdī, Murūj, II, 317, is more explicit in stating that at this place "lie cultivated lands ('amā'ir) and the Byzantine town called  $\dot{M}$ . snāt, which impedes the ships of the Rūs and others who come from the (Black) sea." Cf. also Tanbīh, 141 (where the Rūs are called al-Kūdkāna, read \*al-Urmaniyya). De Goeje (I. Kh., transl. 75) has surmised that the name \*Musannāt must be an Arabic term having the sense of "digue ou brise-lames" (cf. Lane: "a dam, a thing constructed, or raised to keep back the water of a torrent, a kind of wall built in the face of water . . . ''), cf. also Tomaschek, Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien, 1891, p. 3 (without any further explanation). The probability of an Arabic etymology is increased by the existence of a place al-Musannāt in Egypt, Murūj, IV, 421, and Yāqūt, IV, 533. The "town" of which Mas'ūdī speaks could not by itself prevent Russian ships from entering the Bosphorus unless it possessed some kind of boom, but we have no record of "chains" in the Bosphorus.1

Marvazi's "chains" must belong to a different tradition. The Byzantines used a strong iron chain drawn between the tower of Galata and the citadel (Acropolis) to impede the access to the Golden Horn. The chain is first mentioned A.D. 717 at the occasion of the Arab invasion, see quotations in C. du Fresne du Cange, Historia Byzantina, 1680, Constantinopolis Christiana, pp. 9–10.2 According to the Russian Chronicle (Laurentian Codex, Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey, 1926, I, 30), when the Russians led an attack against Constantinople A.D. 907, the Greeks "locked the Gulf (вамкоша соудъ) and closed up the city." Marvazi possibly refers to this event of which Jayhāni was a contemporary.

The raid of the Rūs on Barda's in 332/943-4 was described by I. Miskawaih, *The Eclipse*, II, 62-78, and traces of some additional information are found in the *Hudūd*, §36, 30., but no other source prior to Marvazi has the reports on the conversion of the Rūs to Islam, and on the great migration of Turkish tribes (v.s. §5). Both clearly reflect a Khwārazmian tradition and for the time being we are obliged to attribute them to Marvazi himself.

§§17-20, based as they are on Greek medical authorities, differ from §§1-16. What the Greeks say on the Iranian nomads of their

<sup>2</sup> Under Manuel Commenus (A.D. 1143-80) a second chain was drawn between two towers on the European and Asiatic side, against the aggressors coming from the

Marmara sea.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Mas'ūdī had little influence on the writers of Khorasan. The interpretation of  $M.s.n\bar{a}h$  as "Mysia," Seippel, p. xxx, is absolutely impossible. If we insist on a Greek origin for the name, we might perhaps envisage Mesemuria. This town lay far from the Bosphorus, but it is mentioned by Const. Porph.,  $De\ adm.\ imp.$ , Ch. 9, as the terminus of the difficult sea voyage of the Russians on the way to Constantinople.

time is applied to the Turks. Byzantine authors were responsible for the identification of the Turks with their predecessors in the steppe belt. Menander Protector, who collected the reports of Byzantine embassies to various eastern peoples, says (frag. 19) that the Turks were formerly called Saka  $(\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ To \hat{\nu} \rho \kappa \omega \nu, \ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ \Sigma \alpha \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda o \nu \mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \omega \nu \ \pi \alpha \lambda a \iota)$ . On the Iranian side the Book of Kings (Khwatāy-nāmak) similarly confused the descendants of Tur (Turanians) with Turks, and this view was consecrated by Firdausi. I. Faqih, 7, includes in Scythia (*Isqūtiya*): Armenia, Khorasan, the Turks and Khazars, and Marvazi simply substitutes "Turks" to the "Scythians" of the Greek authors. \$\$17-20 are a fair example of Marvazi's favourite theories on the influence of the climate which he develops with regard to the "Turks" in the north, and to the "Ethiopians" and other southern peoples, in his chapters XIII and XV. As the quotations indicate, these views are of direct Greek origin and are borrowed from Hippocrates's treatise Περὶ ἀέρων ύδάτων τόπων, see Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate, ed. E. Littré, 1840, II, at the places indicated below.<sup>2</sup>

§17. Cf. Littré, II, 67: on  $\sum av\rho a\mu a\tau au$  living near the Maeotis. §18. Cf. ibid., II, 73–7: Scythians are fat and their skin is hairless. The women are sterile: "la matrice ne peut plus saisir la liqueur séminale, car l'écoulement menstruel, loin de s'opérer avec la régularité nécessaire est peu abondante et séparée par de longs intervalles, et l'orifice de l'utérus, fermé par la graisse, n'admet pas la semence." The handmaids who do the work conceive easily, etc. An echo of these theories is also found in I. Faqīh, 6, according to whom the Turks have few children. Gardizi, 81, and the  $Mujmal\ al-taw\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}kh$ , 105, quote legends to explain why Turks have little hair on their bodies  $(tang-m\bar{u}^{\dagger}\bar{\imath})$ .

§19. Cf. ibid., II, 77: on the morbid effeminacy of some Scythians called ἀνανδριεῖς. Cf. Herodotus, I, 105: ἐναρέες. Marvazi admits that such men are found in "some Turkish lands," but insists on the vigour of the nomads. The passage on "Ionians and Turks," who owe allegiance to nobody, is a misunderstanding, perhaps an intentional one, for the Greek original was too unpalatable for Marvazi's masters: "Les Européens sont plus belliqueux . . . car ils ne sont pas, comme les Asiatiques, gouvernés par les rois. . . . Gouvernés par leurs propres lois, sentant que les dangers qu'ils courent, ils les courent dans leurs propres intérêts, ils les acceptent volontiers . . . car le prix de la victoire est pour eux (τὰ γὰρ ἀριστεῖα τῆς νίκης αυτοὶ φέρονται). C'est ainsi que les lois ne contribuent pas peu a créer le courage." A sublime idea, even for our own times!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Just as the older Russian translation of Joseph Flavius substitutes "Pechenegs" for "Scythians," Vsevolod Miller, Osetinskiye et udi, III, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the new edition Corpus medicorum graecorum, I/1: Hippocratis opera, Vol. I/1, ed. Heiberg, 1927, pp. 56-78 (especially pp. 71-8).

§20. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 67: in Hippocrates, the passage on warlike women with one breast  $(\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{o}\nu)$  belongs to the description of Sauromatae (v.s. §17), the term "Amazons" being found only in a gloss. Some additional reference to Amazons is found in Chap. XVII, f. 48a. Their warlike behaviour is compared with what 'A'isha did in "the battle of the Camel" and what some Turkish women and Byzantine girls do.

On the whole Marvazi simply follows the Greeks and shows less critical acumen than Avicenna, who in his Canon studies the same problem of climatic conditions. Avicenna too states that the periods of the females living in northern countries are defective "owing to constriction of the channels and the absence of the stimulus to . . . relaxation of the channels. Some assert that this makes the women sterile. . . . But this is contrary to experience, at any rate as regards the Germans (var. Turks, Parthians, etc.). My opinion is that the great amount of innate heat makes up for the absence of the stimulus to flow. Abortion, it is said, is rare among women in those climates, and this further supports the opinion that their vitality is great. . . . Female slaves are liable to develop ascites and hydrouterus; but these also pass away as they grow old." See O. Cameron, A Treatise on the Canon . . . of Avicenna, London, 1930, p. 207.

The original source of Marvazi's quotations having been ascertained, it is more difficult to trace the part in them which goes back to Galen. In fact the latter commented on Hippocrates's  $\Pi \epsilon \rho i \stackrel{.}{\alpha} \stackrel{.}{\epsilon} \rho \omega \nu$ , but (a) of this commentary only a Latin translation has survived, and (b) this Latin text stops short of the paragraphs in which Hippocrates describes the Scythians, see *Opera Hippocratis Coi et Galeni Pergameni*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1679, VI, 201–12.

Another problem is to identify the Arabic translation from which Marvazi borrowed his quotations. It will be better reserved till the time when the whole of the Tabā'i' al-hayawān has been studied and edited. The famous Hunavn b. Ishāg says in the Bibliography of his translations that he rendered Hippocrates's  $\Pi_{\epsilon\rho} = \frac{\partial}{\partial \epsilon} \frac{\partial}{\partial \epsilon} \frac{\partial}{\partial \nu} = \frac{\partial}{\partial$ al-hawā wal-mā' wal-masākin) into Syriac, adding to it a short commentary of his own, but that the work remained unfinished. He also translated the original book into Arabic, while his nephew, Hubaysh, translated the explanations of Galen, see Bergsträsser, Hunain b. Ishāq, in Abh. fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XVII, No. 2, 1925, p. 25 (point 99). Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, I, 119-29, sums up the contents of the works of Hippocrates: Kitāb fil-ahwiya walazmina wal-miyāh wal-amṣār (p. 119-20) and Kitāb fil-ahwiya walbuldān (pp. 120-9), but leaves out the part on Sauromatae, etc. He adds that Galen composed a running commentary on the book (fasl fasl wa ma'nā ma'nā). Even the rendering of the title suggests that Ya'qūbī used some translation other than that of Hunayn. similar difference with regard to the Prognostikon has been indicated

by M. Klamroth, Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, in ZDMG, 40, 1886, p. 202. The same is apparently true for Marvazi.

#### CHAPTER XII

# INDIA

The following reference books are quoted in this section by the names of the authors: L. D. Barnett, Antiquities of India, 1913; J. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu mythology and religion, 1879; Nundo Lal De, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, 1927; Reinaud, Mémoire géographique historique et scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'après les écrivains arabes, persans et chinois, in Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions, XVIII/2, 1849, 1-399 and 565-6 (still a remarkable achievement). [O. Spies, An Arab account of India in the 14th Century, Stuttgart, 1936 (a translation of the compilative account from the Masālik al-abṣār by 'Omarī) belongs to a much later period.]

The arrangement of this chapter is clearer than that of the others. A. Introduction (§1), followed by an enumeration of the "seven" castes (§\$2-8) and an eulogy of Indian sciences, crafts, etc. (§\$9-16).

- B. Religions. The account takes up the major part of the chapter. It deals with individual Indian creeds and sects (§§17-42) and concludes with an inadequate reference to Buddhism (§43).
- C. Politico-geographical conditions. This part begins with the usual enumeration of Indian kings and their customs (§§44–62), and ends with some desultory notes on the northern part of India (Panjab) (§§63–66).

#### A CASTES

§§2–8. Biruni, 49–51 (I, 101–4, and II, 293) gives a very clear description of the four castes, after which he speaks of the functional low castes (antaz < \*antyaja) and finally of the outcaste Hādī ( $H\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ ), Dūm (Doma), Candala and Badhatau. In this, he follows the Rig-Veda, the laws of Manu and other authoritative sources, cf. Barnett, o.c., 132–5.

His predecessor, from whom most of the authors including Marvazi derived their data, knows the principal categories but, being limited to his personal observations and enquiries, commits some errors in his classification of the castes and his interpretation of the facts. Marvazi's data on the castes correspond almost word for word with the statements found in Ibn Khurdādhbih, 71, but, as Marvazi gives more details in the style of the original (prohibition of intermarriages, Brahmans infatuated with candala girls), it would seem that he had at his disposal a more complete version of the original. More probably he obtained these additional details through the medium of Jayhānī. In any case, the primary report,

<sup>1</sup> Still unexplained. Possibly vadhya, "a criminal," in Arabic \* $badhy\bar{u}$  (with final u instead of a, like in vata > baru).

traces of which survive in the available abridgment of I. Kh.'s book (i.e. in BGA, VI, 71), must have been drawn up before A.D. 850. The seven castes enumerated are: kings, brahmans, kshatriya, vaisya, sudra, candala and domba. In de Goeje's opinion, BGA, VII, tr. 52, the king's caste is only a different spelling of kshatriya and is based on the misunderstanding of Muslim authors who were loath to believe that the king could belong to any but the highest category. However, the spelling, with the conspicuous group of shīn-alif in the beginning of al-shākthariya, is very different from al-k.stariya, etc., \*kshatriya. It is possible then that the name of the king's caste is connected with the royal title chakravarti, as H. W. Bailey has suggested to me. As in I. Kh., the sudra come before the vaisya. Another strange fact is that Brahmans are given an inferior status to al-Sumaniya. The term, similarly spelt in Muṭahhar, 19 (a quotation from Jayhānī) and in the Fihrist, 345 (a quotation from Akhbār Khorāsān) refers to Buddhists. In Muslim literature the latter are regularly called shaman (from śramana, "anchorite, a devotee"), cf. Bīrūnī, 184 (tr. II, 169), and \*suman may be simply a mis-spelling in which the damma represents the original three dots of the shīn. However, the "Buddhists" are out of place in the systems of castes, and it is difficult to imagine that in this particular passage the term (suman/shaman) stands in its original connotation of *śramana*. The passage is apparently an interpolation based on a misunderstanding.

§§9–16. As all this section runs parallel to Gardīzi, who quotes Jayhāni's Tawārīkh (?) as his source, we must conclude that Jayhāni is the immediate source of Marvazi also. But again, we can go back still farther. The first of the paragraphs on Indian crafts corresponds to I. Kh., 71–2, and apparently belongs to the aforesaid primary report (circa A.D. 800). The same data, though much more abridged, are found in Muṭahhar, IV, 10 (tr. 9). Shahristānī, II, 447, who remoulds his source, quotes the achievements of the Indians in astronomy, medicine, telepathy and control of natural phenomena (rain) in his special subdivision of Indian creeds, entitled aṣḥāb al-fikra wal-wahm, the latter being confused with the rishis.

§10. As a parallel to  $s\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}band\bar{a}t$ , Gardizi, §3, has  $sh.m\bar{a}t.nt$ . The meaning of this term is clear, but the reading is unknown. Perhaps:  $s\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}$  ("face, features") +band, in the sense of "producing appearances, phantasmagoria," or  $s\bar{\imath}miy\bar{a}$  ("one of the magic arts")  $+\bar{b}and$ . The printed text of Muṭahhar, IV, 10, substitutes: nayranjāt, "magic." [The reading  $s\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}band$  is unexpectedly confirmed by Sogdian  $sym'\beta nt$ , see Henning, Sogdica, 1940, pp. 60-61].

§16. Mount al-Dāb.r (?) is unknown, but the country in which it

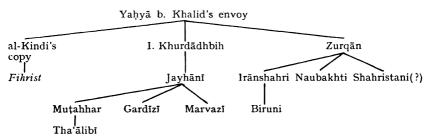
<sup>1 \*</sup>Shākbartī would be a haplology of Shāk(ra)bartī, with a compensatory lengthening of the vowel. In the still more compressed form the term got into the story of Sindbad the Sailor where it is said the Shākiriya are the most noble of Indian races and are followed by the Brahmans who never drink wine, Alf layla, night 541, cf. E. W. Lane's translation (Dent, 1901), IV, 119. On the true shākirī, v.s. p. 94.

lies is Assam, for, as a parallel to *Qāmūr*, Gardizi, §5, gives *Kāmrūt*, i.e. \*Kāmarūpa, v.i. §52. Gardizi speaks only of the "peri-like" proficiency of the inhabitants in spells. Cf. Juvayni, I, 85, on *parī-dārī*.

## B. Religions

In the light of Marvazi and Gardīzi, who are studied here for the first time, I have come to the conclusion that most of the earlier authors on Indian religions made an extensive use of one primary report which I take as having been compiled *circa* A.D. 800, at the request of the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid. The original has not come down to us nor are we sure of the name of its author, but its contents can now be restored from the available quotations, such as are found in our §§17–42. This source is not expected to contain any revelations for Indianists and its literary standards can bear no comparison with the philosophic attitude of an Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī, but it is some two centuries older than Biruni and its vivid descriptions reveal in the author a great clarity of vision. Free from cant, the observer wished only to see and to report, not to judge and to expatiate upon his own superiority.

It will be easier to follow our conclusion if we at once present the tentative scheme of the connections between our sources, as resulting from our analysis of them:



- (A) Though there were numerous borrowers from the original source before al-Nadīm (A.D. 988), we must begin our study with his *Fihrist* as giving us a clue to the problem. His text, 346-9 (translated by Ferrand with some omissions, *Relations*, 118-29) is composite and consists of the following parts:
  - (1) A passage on Buddhists (al-S.maniya) based on the work of some Khorasanian author who compiled a chronicle of his province (akhbār Khorāsān fil-qadīm wa ma ālat ilayhi fil-hadīth), 345, lines 12–17.
  - (2) The original chapter on India and China begins with a reference to a fragment (juz') of some work copied in his own hand by the famous philosopher Ya'qūb b. Isḥaq al-Kindī in 249/863. The compiler (or editor?) of the work (kātibuhu) says in the beginning of the fragment that, according to some

- theologians (mutakallimīn), the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid sent a man to India "to collect the medicinal plants found in India and to draw up a report on Indian religions, and he wrote the present book for him (fa kataba lahu hādhā al-kitāb)," p. 345, lines 17-28.
- (3) This introduction is followed by a long and confused paragraph on Indian temples (v.i. §54), p. 346, l. 1, p. 347, l. 13. The sequence of paragraphs (2) and (3) might suggest that (3) begins a quotation from Yahya's envoy, but a close analysis of (3) shows that a part of it at least is based on the report of the well-known Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil, v.i. §54. This unreliable globe-trotter (al-Nadīm: jawwāla) claimed to have travelled far and wide in Indo-China and India, see Yāqūt, III, 445-57. Towards the middle of the paragraph stand the words "Abū Dulaf told me," which introduce a correction of a report for which Abū Dulaf himself seems to be responsible (viz. on a "House of Gold" of Zamīn Dāvar, cf. Yāqūt, III, 457). As Abū Dulaf is supposed to have accompanied an embassy from Bukhara to northern China, about 331/941, and as al-Nadim wrote in A.D. 988, their personal contact is somewhat doubtful on chronological grounds. The words qāla lī Abū Dulaf may have been incorporated by al-Nadīm from some written source (v.s. p. 8, on the Introduction of Abū Dulaf's Risālas). On the other hand, al-Nadīm certainly met the authority whom he quotes towards the end of the paragraph, namely, the monk whom the Nestorian Catholicos had sent to China and who after a seven years' absence returned in 377/987.
- (4) A paragraph on Buddha, with an indication that the quotation is from a book "different from that copied by al-Kindi," p. 347, ll. 14-27.
- (5) After a new indication: "from (the book) copied by al-Kindi" (min khaṭṭ al-Kindī), there follows, p. 349, l. 29-p. 349, l. 12, the long and important enumeration of individual sects coinciding with that of Muṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazi and Shahristāni.

Passage (5) is particularly important as providing a clue to the origin of the traditional information on Indian religions. It is likely that Yaḥyā b. Khālid sent his envoy to India at the time when he was the *de facto* ruler of the caliphate A.D. 786-803, see Barthold, *Barmakids* in *E.I.*, and we can tentatively date the original report at *circa* A.D. 800.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Is the reference to Zurqān?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ferrand translates: "L'envoyé lui ecrivit cette lettre." Rather: "lui écrivit le livre que voici."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The editor rightly states II, 182, that this indication refers to what follows ("gehört zum Folgenden"). The indication is left out in Ferrand's translation.

(B) The other chain of borrowers begins with I. Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī. Speaking of the different classes of Indian religions, Gardīzi (f. 199b) formally acknowledges his authority: "Thus speaks 'Abdullah (sic) Jayhani: the Hindus have 99 sects which come under 42 categories, and their basis is fourfold, as I shall explain," after which without transition comes the description of the individual sects (v.i. 132). We can ascend even beyond Jayhāni. The abridgement of I. Kh.'s work, BGA, VI, 71, has: "The Indian creeds are 42, some of which accept the Creator . . . and the prophets, some reject the prophets, and some others reject everything." In I. Kh. this statement is inserted between the enumeration of the castes and the praise of Indian crafts, all of them forming one block of information, recognisable in the later authors, Gardizi, Marvazi and partly Shahristāni. As all of these, after the general classification of Indian religions (v.i. §17), enumerate the same individual sects, it seems almost certain that this set of facts existed in Kh.'s original work. Jayhani may have been acquainted with the primary report, but more probably, as suggested by Muqaddasi, 271) he got his facts from I. Kh. (v.s. p. 6). Like his contemporary al-Kindi, I. Kh. was living in Baghdad and could easily have secured a copy of the primary report which Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy brought to the capital some fifty years before.

The authors who owed their knowledge of the primary report to Jayhāni, wrote chiefly in the eastern part of Iran:

- (α) The earliest in date is Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir Maqdisi in his Kitāb al-bad', ed. Huart, IV, 9-19. At the end of his chapter on India he quotes a Kitāb al-Masālik. The editor, C. Huart, expressed the view, IV, 17, that this is likely to be the work of Jayhānī, rather than of I. Kh., whose text in BGA, VI, does not contain this passage. My late teacher and colleague was on the right track, though he overlooked the fact that BGA, VI, is only an abridgment of the original I. Kh.¹
- (β) A large extract is found in the unpublished part of Gardīzi's Zayn al-akhbār. The specific importance of this part of Gardizi's work for comparative purposes has only now become apparent. Gardizi specifically names Jayhāni as his source, and this acknowledgment is welcome.
- (γ) The next in chronological order is Marvazi. His selection is very close to that of Gardīzī, but he used the Arabic original of Jayhāni independently of Gardīzi. As Gardīzi's text is in a notoriously bad state, Marvazi enables us to restore some of his readings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The beginning of Mutahhar's report on India (namely, IV, 9-12) was reproduced in A.M. Husayn Tha'ālibi's *Ghurar al-akhbār*. Tha'ālibi quotes Mutahhar and this detail rendered possible the identification of the latter's work. The passage is not in the part of the *Ghurar* edited by Zotenberg, but Reinaud, 294, gives its contents and Huart has collated the MSS.

(C) Bīrūnī, India, I, 4, explains the circumstances under which he was moved to write his book as follows: "Everything which exists on this subject (i.e. on the religions and doctrines of the Hindus) in our literature is second-hand information which one person has copied from another, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination. Of all the authors of this class, I know only one who has proposed to himself to give a simple and exact report on the subject sine ira ac studio, viz. Abul-'Abbās al-Irānshahri. He himself did not believe in any of the then existing religions but was the sole believer in a religion invented by himself, which he tried to propagate." He has given a good account of the Jews and Christians, "but when he came to speak of the Hindus and the Buddhists, his arrow missed the mark, and in the latter part he went astray through hitting upon the book of Zurgān. the contents of which he incorporated in his own work. That, however, which he has not taken from Zurgan, he has himself heard from common people among the Hindus and Buddhists."

The author whom Biruni unceremoniously calls zurgān appears to be one of the earliest transmitters of the report on India. My learned and resourceful friend, S. H. Tagizadeh, has put me on the track of several passages referring to this author. Speaking of the doctrines of the Qarmatians, Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, 395, mentions Zurqān among the authors who wrote controversial books to refute their opponents (kitāban min al-magālāt wa ghayrihā min al-radd 'alā al-mukhālifīn), and says that he was a retainer (ghulām) of the well-known Mu'tazilite theologian Nazzām (see E.I.). Šam'ānī, 530b (under al-Musammi'ī), and Yāqūt who copies him, IV, 523 (under al-Musāmi'a),¹ say that Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. 'Īsā Abū-Ya'lī, known as Zurqān, was a Mu'tazilite teacher of no great talent, for his lectures were not taken down by his pupils. He was a native of the Sāmi'a ward in Basra and died in Baghdād in 298 or 299/910-2. This date is an obvious mistake, for Zurqān's patron Nazzām died circa 220-30/835-45. Yāqūt drops the second figure, changing the date into 208-9/823-4, but this correction suggests that Z. predeceased N. by a good number of years, whereas it is known that N. died in the full vigour of his faculties. In Ahmad b. Yahya's Kitab al-munya wal-amal, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902, 44-5, S. H. Taqizadeh has found an indication that Zurgan took part in a debate in the presence of the caliph Wāthiq, who ruled 227-32/842-7. Consequently the date of Zurqān's death is later than 208, while it must be earlier than 298. The usual confusion in Arabic numbers is between "90" and "70," but even 278 seems too late for Zurqān. A date like 248 or 258 would be much more probable. Zurqān, as appears from his biographic record, was not a traveller, but only a mediocre theologian, and he could quote on India only someone else's data.

There does not seem to survive any direct vestige of Zurqān's book, but in the passage on the "Prayāga tree," Biruni, 98 (tr. I, 200)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rāzī wrote two books to refute the anti-materialistic theories of al-Musammi'ī al-mutakallim (= Zurqān), Fihrist, 300-1, cf. Bīrūnī, Fihrist kutub al-Rāzī, No. 58.

says that "it stands at the confluence of the Jamna and Ganges, and near it the Hindus chastise themselves with punishments which are described in the books of controversies (kutub al-maqālāt)." The reference to magālāt apparently has in view Zurgān, which makes it probable that this worthy's book contained the same details from the original report that are reproduced (with very slight differences) in Naubakhti (v.i.), Muṭahhar, p. 19, Gardīzī, §36, Marvazi, §41, and even the books of marvels.1

As appears from Biruni's passage ("the then existing religion") TRANSHAHRI must have lived a considerable time before him. In fact, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, Zād al-musāfirīn, ed. Berlin, 1923, 72, 98, 102-3, refers to him as being the "predecessor and teacher" (muqaddam-va-ustād) of the famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyā Rāzī.<sup>2</sup> Nāṣir-i Khusrau accuses Rāzī of having remoulded, in an openly materialistic spirit, the theories which Iranshahri had developed with moderation in his Kitāb-i Jalīl and Kitāb-i athīr. As according to Biruni, Fihrist kutub al-Rāzī, ed. Kraus, 1936, 4–6, Rāzī was born in 251/865 and died in 313/925, we have to place Iranshahri considerably before 300/912.

Biruni quotes from Irānshahri a report on Mount Meru according to the Buddhist creed, India, 124 and 166, and also some data on Iranian and Armenian traditions, Chronology, 222, 225 (tr. 208, 211). The item on Meru is not found in the other books of our category, perhaps by chance, and perhaps because it belonged to Iranshahri's own contributions (v.s. Biruni).

Another author belonging to Zurqān's tradition seems to be Abū Muhammad Hasan b. Mūsā NAUBAKHTĪ (d. circa 300-310/012-022).3 Of his book, Kitāb al-ārā wal-diyānāt, only some quotations have survived, and among them two passages on Indian religions,4 the one (abridged and confused) on the adepts of Vasudeva and the other on the austerities practised by Indians. The latter is very similar to Mutahhar's arrangement.

SHAHRISTĀNĪ'S chapter on India, 445-55, may be also filiated to Zurgān, for it is likely that a writer on purely religious matter should have looked for information in the magālāt rather than in a geographical work.<sup>5</sup> If so, Zurqān contained much the same stuff as found

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We cannot say whether Biruni knew these tales from Zurqān's book or through the intermediary of Iranshahri. In any case he did not stoop to reproduce the purely external facts collected by the keen-eyed but simple minded author of the original report.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  P. Kraus,  $R\bar{a}z\bar{i}$ , in E.I., is inclined to identify Irānshahri with the "Balkhi," who is said to have been Rāzī's teacher of philosophy, *Fihrist*, 299, but S. H. Taqizadeh

is said to have been Rāzī's teacher of philosophy, Fihrist, 299, but S. H. Taqizadeh points to the Fihrist, 300-I, where two Balkhis are mentioned: Abul-Qāsim and Suhayl, whom Rāzī criticised in his books.

3 Cf. 'Abbās Eghbāl Khānadān-i Naubakhtī, Tehran, 1311/1933, p. 137.

4 See Ibn Jauzī, Talbīs Iblīs, Cairo, 1340, pp. 69 and 74, reprinted by H. Ritter in his edition of Firaq al-Shī'a, attributed to Naubakhti, Istanbul, 1931, pp. KJ andKD.

5 Sachau in his translation of Biruni, II, 251, says that "the origin of (Shahristānī's) chapters on Indian subjects . . . is not known," and that he did not make use of Biruni. Reinaud, in his famous Mémoire, 291, states that Shahristāni "a mis plusieurs fois a contribution le Fihrist." We now know that the question must be treated as between a much larger circle of writers exploiting the same original source treated as between a much larger circle of writers exploiting the same original source.

in Muṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazi, etc. Shahristāni, 454, has one additional item on the *B.rks.hikiya*, i.e. \*vrkṣa-bhaktiya, "worshippers of the trees" (already guessed by Reinaud, 296). The adepts of this sect chose one of the tallest and most luxuriant trees growing in the mountains, hollowed out in it a niche for their idol and then prostrated themselves before the tree and circumambulated it. These details, explained in a clumsy and naive style, undoubtedly belong to the original source. The item is apparently one of the minor details neglected by the other compilers.

§17. Above (v.s. p. 127) we have quoted the three categories into which I. Kh. divides the Indian creeds. Muṭahhar's scheme is more elaborate but is probably faithful to the original. He says that there are in India 900 creeds; of these 99 are known and can be reduced to 42, the latter falling into 4 categories, and two classes, namely: Buddhists (sumaniya, as in Marvazi), who deprive God of attributes (muʿaṭṭila),¹ and Brahmans. The latter are of three classes (the text is disturbed!). It is said in conclusion, p. 18: "All those who do not believe in apostolate (risāla)² and the Beyond (al-ākhira) do believe in recompense and punishment through transmigration (intiqāl) and metempsychosis (tanāsukh)." The same basis of classfication is still recognisable in Gardīzi (with some misunderstandings) and in Marvazi.

### Gardīzī.

- Those who recognise the Creator, apostles and Retribution and who are Brahmans.
- 2. Those who repudiate apostles (namely, the Shamanis = Buddhists).
- 3. Those who recognise the Creator and believe in the eternity of Paradise and Hell.
- Those who believe that Retribution consists in transmigration.

#### Marvazī.

- Those who recognise the Creator and apostles.
- Those who recognise the Creator but not apostles.
- Those who reject the Creator and apostles.
- Those who reject everything excepting Retribution (Shamanis).
- Some (?) who say that Retribution consists in rebirth.

Shahristānī's personal views throw considerable confusion into the scheme. Here are briefly his new headings:

- I. Brahmans, namely:
  - (a) Buddhists (aṣḥāb cl-bidada).
  - (b) Adherents of psychical power (al-fikra wal-wahm), i.e. the rishis (?).
  - (c) Believers in transmigration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Such is the technical meaning of the term, but practically it denotes "atheists." <sup>2</sup> On the translation of the term rasūl by "apostle" (v.s. p. 40.)

- 2. Adherents of spiritual bodies (aṣḥab al-rūḥāniyāt).
- 3. Worshippers of heavenly bodies (aṣḥāb al-hayākil al-samāwiya).
- 4. Idolaters.
- 5. Philosophers.

Shahristani further states that the Brahmans reject "apostles" while they recognise a Builder (\$\sani{a}ni{t}'\$) of the Universe. Category (2) is said to include those who believe in "spiritual intermediaries" and thus coincides with the division recognising "apostles" in I. Kh., Gardizi and Marvazi. Under category (3) it is said that of all the heavenly bodies only the Sun and the Moon have adepts. Category (4) contains an admission that, "after all," the previous categories are also idolaters. Finally the philosophers (5) are said to have received their lights from a pupil of Pythagoras called Qalānūs, etc. Under Shahristāni's pen the data of the original lose much of their liveliness and benefit little by being pushed into new pigeon-holes.

In the process of abridgment and readaptation, the "classes" of the original source have become disturbed in our text, e.g., one does not see the reason why §30 should stand outside the class of those who recognise "apostles," etc. Therefore in the following table of concordances we speak of "divisions" rather than of "classes." Marvazi and Gardīzi are quoted in it after the §§ into which I have divided their text. The references to Muṭahhar, Shahristāni and al-Fihrist are to the pages of the printed editions, with indications (in brackets) of the order in which the items occur. The two passages of Naubakhti are similarly quoted after the pages in Ibn Jauzi and the order of single items. See Table on p. 132.

# Division A

The author of the original report did not quite realise the status of Indian gods and their avatars. To him they appeared as "prophets and apostles" of some supreme divinity (v.s. p. 40) or as "angels." Similar ideas are still discernible in Biruni. In *India*, 200, he says that when the earth enters upon a period of ruin, Providence (mudabbir), in order to abate the evil, "sends" (yursilu) someone, such as Vāsudeva (Krishna). In the Jawāhir, 237, Biruni calls Mahādeva "chief of the angels."

§19. These are adepts of Vāsudeva, i.e. Vishnu, as confirmed by the latter's carrier the divine kite Garuḍa (Marvazi: 'Anqā, Gardīzī:  $S\bar{\imath}murgh$ ). His four emblems are supposed to be the lotus-flower, shell-trumpet (sankha), mace and chakra-disc, see Barnett, 30. Only the latter has been recognised by the author whose Arabic transcription is \*shakr (Muṭahhar: shakra). Both in Gardīzī and Marvazi marginal notes explain "chakra" as archad (?), apparently in some Indian vernacular. The noose seems to be the arm called in Sanskrit  $p\bar{a}sa$  (a special attribute of Yama, Dowson, 374). Gardīzī describes Vasudeva's twelve heads and says that he ordered his adepts to worship fire and to wear the guṇa thread (\*junū; for

Marvazī	Gardīzī	Mutahhar	Shahristānī	Naubakhti	al-Nadim
Divisio	n A: God and	d apostles		69(1)	
19	8	13 (1)	450 (IIa)	69 (2)	
20	9	13 (2)	450 (IIa)	() 3	
2I 22	10 11	14 (3) 14 (4)	451 (IIc)	74 (11)?	
23		14 (5)			
Divisi	on B: No ape	ostles (?)			
24	12		445 (I)		
25 26	13 14	14 (6)			
27	15	15 (7)	449 (Ib)		348 (e)
28	16	-3 (//	772 ()		349 (f)
29 30	17 18	16 (14)	451 (IId)		349 (g) 349 (h)
		C: Idols	<del></del>		349 (11)
	Division	1			
31	19	18 (29) 15 (8)	453 (IVa)		347-8′ (a
3.	19	13 (0)	454 (IVb)		347 0 (2
32	20		131 ( )	p. 74	
33	21	15 (9)	454 (IVc)		
34	22	15 (10)	454 (IVd)	(6)	
35	23	16 (11)	455 (IVe)		0 ( )
36	24	16 (13)	452 (IIIb)		348 (c)
37	25	16 (12)	452 (IIIa)		348 (b)
	Division D : .	Acts of austerity	, 		
38 39	26				
40	27				
40	28				
İ	29				
	30				
41a	31a	17 (20)		(7)	
42.5	31b	17 (18)		(2)	
	31c	-/ (20)		(-)	
	32	17 (19)		(4)	
	33	16 (16)		(5)	
	33	17 (17)		(3)	
	34	16 (15)		(1)	
41b	35	17 (21)		(8)	348 (d)
42a	33	17 (22)		(9)	31 ( )
42b		17 (23)		(11)	
42C	36	18 (24)		( ,	
·		18 (25)		(12)	
		18 (26)		` ′	
55	38	18 (27)		(13)1	
	Division I	E: Buddhists			
43		19 (30)	446 (Ia)		[345, 347]
		Division F:			
		Metempsy-			
		chosis			
	I	18 (28)	1	1	1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Naubakhti adds (10): those who drown themselves.

final u, cf. Biruni, baru for vata, v.i. §42), and not to cross the Ganges. These commandments are also in Shahristāni.

§§20 and 21. The two sects Mahā-deviya and Kābāliya worshipped the same god Siva, under two different aspects. Siva is directly named in §21, while in §20 he is described by his title of Mahā-deva, mis-spelt in Mutahhar and Shahristānī. In both cases his attributes, a garland of skulls and a small hand-drum (damaru). are the same, cf. Barnett, 26. The other paraphernalia (including the trident) are distributed between the two divisions. The identity of the god would have been easily established through some literary source, but the original traveller prefers to describe separately the practices of the two sub-sects just as he apparently witnessed them. Gardīzī has much more on the Mahā-deviva and their elects whom he calls bh.rāra (?).

The term Kābāliya (already recognised in Haarbrucker, II, 365) corresponds to Ssk. kāpālika, an adjective derived from kapāla, "a skull." The reference is to human skulls being one of Siva's attributes. Some of the other characteristics of Siva are that he is smeared with the ashes of burnt cow-dung and that his hair is braided up in a conical pile, Barnett, 26. The latter was possibly mistaken by the Muslim investigator for "a red felt cap." On the Sivaite veneration of the linga, cf. Barnett, 27. Both Gardīzī and Marvazi spell lind, but Gardīzī explains that the pronunciation is ling.

§§22 and 23 refer to Rāma and his rival Rāvana, the demon king of the island Lanka.

Gardīzī has much more on the adepts of Rāma whom he places "in d.kshāy.t which is the North," in the town of Bāznāy.n. thing is wrong either with the location or with the interpretation of the term which apparently is \*dakshāpat (daksinā-patha), meaning "the southern region" (H. W. Bailey). Bāznāyin is unknown, unless it is connected with Bhadrachalam, Bhadragiri or Bhadradri in the Godavari district, where there was a cult of Rāma (Dr. Barnett). Gardīzī calls Rāvana's island vjwh (\*vdva) smyn, which must represent a vulgar and mis-spelt form of vadavā mukha, whereas Biruni, 159, who follows the learned tradition, transcribes this name regularly  $b.r.w\bar{a}-m.\chi < *baraw\bar{a}-mukh \ (r < d)$ . Gardīzī relates the story of the abduction of Rāma's wife by Ravana and the latter's murder by Rāma. This is the "authorized version" of Valmiki's Rāmāyana cf. Biruni, 150, but Marvazi's record of Rāma's tyranny and hints at the pardon of Ravana and the lance which he received refer to some aberrant version similar to those which are current among the Buddhists and Jains, according to which Ravana was a great sage and ascetic and Sita was his daughter. See Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, I, 514, note 1 (who refers to a work of D. Ch. Sen).

Mutahhar only quotes the names of the \*Rāmānī and \*Rāvānī, and Shahristani omits them altogether. In the Fihrist all the

category A (§§19-23) is left out.

# Division B

- §24. The reasoning of those who reject prophets is very close to Gardīzī's Persian text (§12). Muṭahhar omits it.
  - §25 on the destruction of bodies=Gardīzī, §13.
- §26. Says Bīrūnī, 45 (tr. I, 93): "Rishis are the sages who, though they are only human beings, excel the angels on account of their knowledge"; therefore the angels learn from them. Gardīzī has a long paragraph on the rishis: "they say that by means of sensibilia (maḥsūsāt) they can rise to such a state as to comprehend intelligibilia. The first part is the exertion of the will towards their object; then, reflexion on how to eliminate subterfuges from their aims; destruction of the things which would bring them gain; separation by way of set purpose from whatever people make to appear good," etc. Cf. Muṭahhar, IV, 14 (tr. 12), and Shahristānī, 443.
- §27. The variants offered by the Fihrist, Gardīzī, Marvazī and Shahristānī are quoted in the Arabic text, p. 52. The meaning of the term is "those tied with iron" (muṣaffadūna bil-ḥadīd, ba-āhan bastagān). Ferrand, 127, quotes a Chinese description of one of such "iron-clads". Holtzmann in Haarbrucker, II, 361, 440, explained \*Bakrantiniya as \*Vajra-bandha, but vajra in Gardīzī's text is rendered by bajr. Starting from Gardīzī's transcription, I tried the form  $N.kr.b.nt\bar{\imath}$ , and H. W. Bailey has put my hint into perfect Sanskrit: nigaḍa, "iron chain" + bandha, "having bond of" (or -baddha, "bound in"). The Arabic reading will accordingly be \*Nikarbantiya, the cerebral d and t being regularly rendered by r and an aspirated dh admitting of a rendering by a surd (th or t?), cf. Bīrūnī, duryodhana >durjū $\theta$ an.
- §28. The meaning of \*Gangā-yātriya was recognised by Brockhaus, Fihrist, 183, as "those practising the gangayātrā, i.e. pilgrimage to the Ganges." The report refers to a practice, not to a particular sect.
- §29. For the variants in the *Fihrist*, Gardīzī and Marvazī see Arabic text, p. 52, line 5. Muṭahhar does not quote the name. As the "sect" is described as the "King's party," the first element is certainly  $r\bar{a}ja$ , the whole being perhaps  $r\bar{a}ja$ -martya (?). Dr. Barnett suggests  $r\bar{a}ja$ -bartiya from  $r\bar{a}ja$ vrtti, "the conduct of a king, or having a livelihood from a king." The reasoning of the adepts is not quite clear, but in the *Fihrist*, 349, they declare: "God has installed the kings, and, if we are killed while obeying them, we shall go to Paradise."
- §30. For the variants of the name of the sect (in Gardīzī, Marvazī and Shahristānī) and of the names of the three brothers (in Gardīzī and Marvazī) see Arabic text, p. 52, line 6. Instead of Jūr-ghar, the *Fihrist* calls the mountain *Jūr-ghan* and Gardīzī *Jūn-ghar* (with a possible connection of the name with that of the second brother).

Gardīzī speaks of an equestrian statue of Bhadrū(r) on Jūn-ghar, and of another temple containing the likenesses of the three brothers. Muṭahhar, 17<sub>13</sub>, may also hint at one of these places in his description of an idol standing at the foot of a high mountain from which devotees leap to their death (v.i.). §30 and the parallel texts contain a number of concrete facts about the three divine brothers and their worshippers, but the identification of the sect remains one of the major difficulties of our text.

The clearest indication is the name of the sacred mountain \*Jūn-ghar, easily comparable with the modern Junāgarh in Kathiavar (as first indicated to me by H. W. Bailey).

This capital of a small state is situated some 40 miles inland, and to the north of the port of Veraval. A lofty mountain which takes its name from its highest peak Girnār, towers over Junagarh and on it is found a multitude of sacred places. Near its top stands a group of highly venerated Jain temples and close by rises a peak Beiru Jhap, "the leap to death," used by Jain devotees for the purpose of self-sacrifice, cf. Muṭahhar, 17 (v.i. 140).

On the other hand, Kathiavar is very closely associated with the memories of Krishna. This god's footprint is shown on the Girnār. In Junāgarh stands a temple built by Vajranābbh, fourth in descent from Krishna, and a smaller temple dedicated to Krishna's brother Baladevji. The spot at which Krishna died from an arrow-wound is visited on the river Sarasvati, near Veraval. See Lt. W. Postans' detailed report on Girnār, etc., in J.A.S. Bengal, VII/2, 1838, 865–87; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, VIII (Kathiavar), 1884, 145 (the Girnārā Brahmans said to have been settled on Girnār by Krishna), 268, 271 (myth of Krishna), 487–502 (Junāgad); Burgess, Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency, in Arch. Survey of West India, XI, Bombay, 1885, pp. 176–86, 283–318.

These facts pointing to ancient endemic cults would suggest that the solution of our problem lies along the lines of Jainism and Krishnaism. The Jainas venerate only their own titthagaras ("teachers"), but it is a known fact that Jainism has been influenced by Krishnan mythology. Both Krishna and his elder half-brother Baladeva have been treated by Jainas as two types of worldly rulers re-appearing at the definite moments of cosmic cycles. See Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas, in Grundriss d. indo-arischen Phil., III, 7, 1935, pp. 18–20, 24. Still more astonishing is the fact that in the process of this readaptation Baladeva has been accorded a higher status than Krishna; see the ancient Jain story of Krishna's death translated by Jacobi in ZDMG, 42, 1882, pp. 493–529.

Our §30 is included in the division of those "who do not recognise prophets," and Bhādrū with his brothers appears more of a hero than of a god. Therefore a combination of Jainism with some recognition of Krishnaism forms a tempting background for comparisons.

Making allowance for the Jain partiality for Baladeva we might interpret Bhādr.r, etc., as \*Baladēv or Balarām (another name of

Baladeva).  $J\bar{u}r$ , or  $J\bar{u}n$ , 1 might represent \*Jar or  $Jar\bar{a}$  for "Jarakumāra," which was the name of the third brother who fatally wounded Krishna, having mistaken him for a gazelle. It is thinkable that the form Jwn (for Jwr) has been influenced by some false analogy with the name of the mountain  $J\bar{u}n$ -ghar. Finally, M.r.sh might be a distorted Krishan, "Krishna," who plays only a secondary part in the remarkable legend translated by Jacobi. For the Arabic forms of these restored names see Arabic text, p. 52, line 8.

The lament of the sectarians for *Bhādr.r* would be possibly connected with the death of Baladeva, who was killed by a falling tree in the act of asking a wood-cutter for alms. Nevertheless it cannot be concealed that the Jain-Krishnaite explanation leaves some difficulties unsolved:

- I. The curious cosmic traits in the legend of Bhādrū.
- 2. Gardīzī's remark that the two brothers Jūn and M.r.s "devised an artifice (*ḥīla*)" so that Bhādrūz fell from his horse.
- 3. The detail of the horse as combined with the record of an equestrian effigy of Bhādrū.
- 4. The outward appearance of the sectarians.

The above explanations were prompted by a desire to squeeze as much as possible out of the original Muslim texts. For suggestions from the Indianist point of view I appealed to the great competence of Dr. Barnett, who communicated to me (8.xi.40) his remarks on §30. While accepting the identification of Jūn-ghar with Junagarh, he rejects the idea of a connection between the sect and Jainism as "the chains, long hair and ecstatic cult are foreign to their religion." He considers §30 as "a distorted version of the doctrine and practice of some obscure sect worshipping Rāma-Candra with his brothers Laksmana and Bharata. Rāma, it is believed, was a complete incarnation of the Supreme God Vișnu; on his death again he was merged into Vișnu. It is a commonplace that Visnu is immanent in the whole world. Again Visnu (and therefore also Rāma) is often identified with Puruṣa, who is described in Rgveda, X, 90, as being sacrificed to form the world, much in the same manner as in the present relation. A foreigner who heard this doctrine together with the old legend, that Rāma was compelled to surrender his throne to Bharata and retire into exile attended by Laksmana, might easily misunderstand it and produce the erroneous version given here, the more so as such a sect would probably dwell with intense devotion and zeal on Rāma's sorrows and death. Gardīzī's version of these doctrines says that the two brothers conspired against "Bhādrūz" and caused him to fall from his horse (?), we may find in this some confirmation of the above explanation. The mention of Bh. riding a horse is peculiar. Very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Baladeva reborn as a god tries to save Krishna who is expiating his sins in a grotto; while Baladeva is taking him to heaven he melts in the air.

few deities are represented thus; but Puranic writers say that Kalki, the future avatar of Viṣṇu, will appear in the world mounted on a white horse."

"As to the names,  $Bh\bar{a}dr\bar{u}z$ , etc., possibly conceals something of the proper name of the hero Rāma; it may stand for Bhadra-rāma, or for Bhadra-rāja (in vernacular: Bhād-rāj). Lakṣmana, in the vernacular, would become regularly Lakhman or Lakhan, which, by loss of the letter  $l\bar{a}m$ , might easily be corrupted to  $J\bar{u}n$ . The name M.r.sh might possibly come from Bh.r.t (Bharata); the difference in Arabic cursive is not great." For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52.

# Division C

- §§31–7 describe various idol-worshippers whom Shahristānī classifies as 'abadat al-aṣnām or as ''worshippers of Heavenly Bodies.'' According to Muṭahhar, 18 (29), the idol-worshippers explain their cults by the necessity of having some intermediary objects (almutawassiṭāt) in the cult rendered to him who escapes the senses (ghā'ib 'an al-ḥawāss).
- §31. Mahā-Kāl, "the Great Kala," is again Śiva, v.s. §§20–21, who is portrayed here from some other idol of his and presented as an *'ifrīt* (Gardīzī: *dīv*, "demon") like Rāvaṇa. According to the legend Śiva had swallowed a poison which stained his neck and he became Nīla-kantha, "Blue-neck," Barnett, 26. Gardīzī, §19, adds that Mahā-Kāl represents a mixture of good and evil traits and that he has many temples, the principal one being situated at *Aj.r* (Shahristani: *Akht.r*), to be restored *Ujjayn* as in Gardīzī's §6. From the name of Mahā-Kāla, Ujjain was surnamed Mahākālavana, cf. Nunda Lal De, 210.
- $\S32$ . Marvazi *al-Dywātriya*, Gardīzī *Dyvātrī*; omitted in Muṭahhar and Shahristānī. The conspicuous features of the festival are its connection with the spring, the parade of courtesans and the display of masks held on the occasion. Gardīzī erroneously takes 'ajal, "wheels," for 'ijl, "a calf" (in Persian gūsāla). As a parallel to the name, Dr. L. D. Barnett suggests the term deva-yātrā, which means "a procession with images of gods," without a special connection with a definite sect. Outwardly our name has some likeness with that of the festival Dībālī (Ğardīzī: Dīvālī) which, according to Bīrūnī, 289 (tr. II, 182), is celebrated "on the day of the new moon when the sun moves in Libra," i.e. in September, and is sacred to Laksmi, the wife of Vasudeva, i.e. Vishnu. However, this name is explained as dīpāvali ("row of lamps") and the time of the year does not suit our §32. Bīrūnī, 288, refers to another festival for the women, called Gaurtr (\*gauri-tṛtīyā?), which is holy to Gauri, i.e. Devi, the wife of Siva, and is celebrated shortly before the vernal equinox. As the goddess represents the female energy, this would explain the parade referred to in our text. The name

Gaurī pertains to the milder aspect of Devī, who, under her terrible aspect, is called Kālī, cf. J. Dowson, 86. The name of the sect may perhaps be derived from \*Devī-yātrā.

- §33. For the variants offered by Mutahhar, Gardīzī, Marvazī and Shahristānī, see Arabic text, p. 52. The festival of the goddess was held in the autumn, the zodiac of Libra corresponding to September. The goddess is described as wearing a crown on her head and (Gardīzī) possessing four hands, one of them touching (?) a nail, one drawing a sword, the other two holding a vaira (bajr) and a chakradisc (chakr). Mutahhar says that the goddess has one thousand (Shahristānī: numerous) hands. The sacrificial animals were beheaded, not slaughtered (Shahristānī). Human sacrifices of slaves also took place in honour of the goddess (Mutahhar, Shahristānī). The king's particular oblation was a fair- (or red-)haired man with blue eyes (Gardīzī, Marvazī). The goddess meant in this case is apparently Siva's wife Devi under her more terrible aspect of Kālī (cf. §32). As, according to Marvazī and Shahristānī, the sect was despised by Indians, we may imagine that the ceremonies described were a part of the bloody Tantric cults which were practised in her honour, Barnett, 27. One of the numerous names of the goddess is Daksinā, "right-handed," cf. Dowson, 86-7. The form \*al-Dahkīniya (as recorded in Shahristānī) would be a pretty close derivation from a vernacular form (dakkhin?) of this name. This seems to be more satisfactory than the explanation found in Haarbrücker, namely, that Devi's votaries were divided into two classes called "the right" and "the left." It is also possible that the mis-spelt name had some simpler form, like devī-bhaktiya (?).
- §34. The spelling is exceptionally clear Jala-bhaktiya, "Waterworshippers." The term "Angel (Gardīzī: firishta) of the water" seems to refer to the Vedic god Apām Napāt, "Offspring of the Waters," or to the various Āpa-goddesses, mothers of Agni, endowed with fertilising and purifying powers, Barnett, 19.
- §35. The spelling Aknhūtriya (already recognised by Reinaud) is quite correct, the term referring to those who perform agni-hotrā, "an oblation to Agni," Barnett, 163. After "worshippers of the Fire," Muṭahhar, IV, 16, adds, "i.e. of Lu-hī" (spelt in two words). Huart (<Senart) explains it as Lohita, "the red one," which is the name of Agni's charger. Perhaps it is safer to see in it a mis-spelling of Agni. Gardīzī commits an error in adding that these Fireworshippers affirm that "he who burns himself with Fire purifies himself of every stain." Shahristānī, who considerably develops this point, emphatically confirms that the sect is afraid of soiling the Fire by their breath or by burning their bodies, "contrary to (the practice of) other tribes of devotees," on which v.i. §41. Our sources particularly insist on the participation of the noblemen in the cult of the Fire.

§36. Marvazī leaves out the Sanskrit term for the sect, but the other sources leave no doubt that it is to be restored as candra ("the Moon") + bhakta ("worshipper"), the latter element appearing in several other names (§§31, 34, 37). Al-Nadīm's version of the original is more complete. He calls the jewel held by the god \*chandr-kant, i.e. candrakānta, a jewel formed of congealed moonrays, and says that the chariot is drawn by four buṭūṭ ("ducks"). Marvazī leaves out buṭūṭ, while Gardīzī understands baṭṭ as buṭ, "idol," in addition to his usual confusion of 'ajal and 'ijl, v.s. §32. Dr. Barnett reminds me of the goose (hamsa), being the attribute of Brahmā, but says that the Moon is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by antelopes!

The phrase wa nazarū ilayhi 'alā wajhin ḥasanin is not quite clear. Gardīzī translates: va māh ba-rū'ī nīkū bīnand, "and they look at the moon with pleasant faces." My friend, A. A. Maraghi, quoted to me the Muslim (Egyptian) view, according to which it is auspicious to gaze on "the reflection of the new (?) moon on a beautiful face." [In the Naurūz-nāma, attributed to 'Omar Khayyām, ed. Minovi, 71, it is said that contemplation of beauty is equal in effect to the influence of favourable stars.]

§37. The Sanskrit name of the Sun-worshippers appears in the Fihrist, Gardīzī and Shahristāni. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52, line 14. Gardīzī's form can be easily restored as \*Aditbhaktī, i.e. āditya-bhakta, "worshippers of the Āditya," the Sun (Sūrya) being one of the Ādityas, Barnett, 18. As a parallel to the candrakānta (§36), the object in the idol's hands (cf. also Fihrist) must be sūryakānta, "the Sun-crystal." According to Gardīzī, pilgrims to the Sun's temple observed a fast of 24 hours (?), called lak.hn (Ssk. langhana, H. W. Bailey), during which they obtained answers to their prayers, in their dreams. As an additional echo of his own time, he says that there were two temples of the Sun, one of which was destroyed by Amir Maḥmūd, while the other still existed in Hindustan.

## Division D

- §38. For the Arabic variants of Gardīzī and Marvazī, see Arabic text, p. 52, line 15. Gardīzī's form, by itself, suggests to Dr. Barnett mahā-prāpti, "great good fortune" (?), but nothing else could be found on these Indian Savonarolas.
- §39. Only Marvazī refers to "those dressed in tree leaves." H. W. Bailey suggests cīra-ambara-dhara, "wearers of barkgarments." This would give in Arabic \*al-jīrānbarā-dahriya. In the description of the third period of a Brahman's life, Biruni, 269 (tr. II, 232) says: "he does not take shelter under a roof, nor wear any other dress but some bark of a tree simply sufficient to cover the loins" (mā yuvārī sau'atahu min liḥā al-shajar), the term liḥā meaning

"bark, pulp, pericarp" (Lane). On the other hand, Marvazī definitely speaks of "leaves" (cf. §54) and not of "bark," which makes some difficulty.

§40. For the variants of Gardīzī and Marvazī see Arabic text, p. 52, line 16. For "those resembling wild animals" H. W. Bailey suggests in Sanskrit: mrga ("a wild animal") + cara ("roaming"), which would give in Arabic \*Amirkajariya. Sulaymān, 50-1, also refers to a class of Indians roaming in the woods and mountains, eating herbs and wild fruit and wearing rings to prevent the possibility of intercourse with women.

The paragraph ends with a vague reference to "other nasty ways and beliefs," which indicates that the original has been abridged. In fact, between our §§40 and 41, Gardīzī describes the b.rniyān (?) <\*mūniyān <muni, "silent ones," nyksī (?), "seekers of Paradise," and k.stkrtī (?) or sydr (?), "naked ones," who spend their time plucking out the hair of their bodies. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52.

§4I. Instead of this abridgment, Gardīzī describes the practices of those who successively enter fire and water, and those who apply hot stones to their bodies; then (§32) those who carve their limbs; then (§33), those who burn themselves in dry cow dung, or (§34) in ovens; then (§35) those called anshiyān who starve themselves to death. This latter term must be derived from anāśa "not eating," but it is better to read with the Fihrist, 348, \*anashaniya and connect it with the form anaśana (Brockhaus in Fihrist, II, 183). Cf. also Mutahhar, 17 (21).

§42 is also much more developed in Gardīzī, who describes (§36) the tirshūlī who throw themselves on an iron trident (triśūla) standing by a banyan tree¹ at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna,² then (§37) those who ask the devotees to kill them at the said spot, then those (§38) who let the wild birds peck them to death. This last story occurs in Marvazī in §55, in the description of a temple in the Ganges valley.

The same suicidal practices, and in the same order, are recorded in a special chapter of Muṭahhar who performs his task con gusto and adds two new sections, one on those who die by burning on their heads a crown of  $muql^3$  and another on those who precipitate themselves from a mountain at the foot of which stands an idol. The last practice may refer to Mt. Girnār (v.s. §30).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gardīzī gives tābr but the regular transcription baru (for Ssk. vaṭa) is found in Bīrūnī, 284 (tr. II, 170).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This popular horror has found its way into L'Abrégé des Merveilles, tr. Carra de Vaux, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Huart translates "bdellium," i.e. balsamodendron. *Muql* is a tree growing in Kachchh, see Bīrūnī, *India*, 102 (tr. I, 208).

## Division E

§43 was announced in the general classification of creeds (§§17–18), but rushing as he does through the final part of his account (§§41–43), Marvazī merely hints at the contents of his source with regard to Buddhists and believers in metempsychosis.

In the eleventh century A.D. Buddhism in India was eclipsed by Hinduism to such an extent that Bīrūnī, 124 (tr. I, 249), in spite of his enlightened curiosity, had to confess: "I have never found a Buddhistic book, and never knew a Buddhist from whom I might have learned their theories on this subject (i.e. Mount Meru), all I relate of them I relate only on the authority of al-Irānshahrī¹ though, to my mind, his report has no claim to scientific exactness," cf. also Sachau's Introduction, pp. xlv—xlvii. It is possible, however, that two centuries before Bīrūnī, Buddhists had not become so scarce and the study of the pre-Birunian data on them presents some interest. To our regret these paragraphs have been drastically abridged by the epitomists.

The only positive indication in Marvazī is his distinction between Buddha and bodhisatvas (spelt: al-būdhusifiya). Gardīzī mentions Buddhists (shamanī) only in his confused introduction but, on the other hand, in his references to Śrāvasti (mistaken for Kapila-vastu?) and Kuśinagara (§6) shows some knowledge of Buddha's biography. Mutahhar concludes his chapter on India, p. 19, by a more definite indication: "I have read in the Kitāb al-masālik that the Buddhists (al-sumaniya) form two parties: that which affirms that Buddha was an apostle, and another which affirms that Buddha is the Creator who has manifested himself in this form" (cf. Huart, ibid., This passage both indicates the source and confirms that Jayhānī's text had a chapter on Buddhism. The same statement on the divisions of Buddhists<sup>2</sup> is found in the Fihrist, 347, with further additions: "and here too their opinions differ. Some say that the apostle is an angel; some others say that he is a human being; some again say that he is a demon ('ifrīt); some again say that this is the image (sūrat) of the sage Būdasf (cf. Marvazī) who came to them from God. And each section of them has a special way of worshipping and exalting him. According to some authority, each community of them has an image which they worship, budd being a generic name, of which the idols are species, and the highest budd (Buddha) is a man seated on a throne, beardless, with a receding chin (maghmūs al-dhaqan fil-faqum), wearing no dress and faintly smiling." It is further stated that the orientation of Buddha's statues is such as to enable the worshippers to face the East. times the image has four faces so as to be seen entirely from every side.

The passage on Buddha is said to have been taken from a book

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Who himself was quoting from Zurqān. <sup>2</sup> With some slight stylistic variants

other than that transcribed by al-Kindi, and which may be either

Jayhānī's Masālik or one of its sources.1

To Shahristani, 446, the Buddhists (asḥāb al-bidada) are a subdivision of the Brahmans. Under Buddha there are \*al-būdisifiya, which means "men seeking the path of Truth." Then the ten sins and ten virtues of the Buddhists are enumerated accurately enough. Buddha appeared in the world seven times ("the number of the rivers (called) Ganges"), springing each time from a princely family. Buddhists believe in the eternity (azaliya) of the world and in karma (jazā', "retribution"). Shahristāni winds up with his own conclusion that in its features Buddhism is closely connected with India, and that in Islam the nearest approach to Buddha is Khizr.

# Division F

As regards the category of "believers in metempsychosis," the position of this creed is not made clear either in Marvazī of Gardīzī. Shahristāni, 449, treats it as one of the three subdivisions of Brahmanism (thumma anna tafarraqa aṣnāfan), the other two being Buddhism and "meditation" (al-fikra wal-wahm = Rishi in Gardīzī and Marvazī). He quotes the story of the Phoenix, the parable of a compass returning to its starting point and adds that the complete rotation of the world requires 36,000 years, or, according to another version, 360,000 years. Only in Bīrūnī's Chapter V "on the state of the souls and their migrations through the world," is metempsychosis introduced as a general feature of "the Hindu religion," in which it is said to occupy a position as pivotal as that of the shahāda in Islam.

# C. GEOGRAPHY AND KINGS

Like the first part of the chapter, this section is most probably based on Jayhānī, but the primary source for the first part is the envoy of Yaḥyā b. Khālid, who visited India towards A.D. 800, whereas in the geographical section reports of Arab mariners must also have been utilised. This applies to the traditional list of Indian kings, and it is surely true with regard to the description of islands and such details as the prohibition of fornication in Khmer. We know the exact name of the traveller responsible for the latter report, v.i. §61.

The purely geographical §§63-6, which have parallels only in the *Hudūd al-'Alam* and Gardīzī, have been borrowed from Jayhānī. Some details betray a particular interest of the original authority

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In an additional passage of the *Fihrist*, 345, based on the book of some native of Khorasan, v.s. p. 125, it is said that Buddhists are the most generous people for Buddha forbade them to use the word "no." It is further stated that before Islam most of the Transoxianians were Buddhists. This is nearer the truth than Birūnī, 10<sub>18</sub>-11<sub>3</sub> (tr. I, 21): "In former times Khorasan, Fars, 'Irāq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria (!) were Buddhist, but then Zarathustra came forth from Azarbayjan and preached Magism in Balkh."

in medicinal plants. Marvazī's §65 on Jālhandar is only an abridgement of  $\dot{H}$ .- $\dot{A}$ ., §10, 38., where such local produce as myrobalan, terminalia bellerica and embilica officinalis are enumerated. The same details are in Gardīzī, §6, with the addition that from Chitra-kūt comes shayṭara-yi hindī, Vullers: "medicamentum indicum." Under §10, 34. of  $\dot{H}$ .- $\dot{A}$ . are quoted tamarind, cassia fistularis, etc. If one remembers that Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy had the double mission of collecting medicinal plants ('aqāqīr') and describing religions, one is tempted to give him credit for such geographical facts on northern India as occur only in the authors based on Jayhānī ( $\dot{H}$ .- $\dot{A}$ ., Gardīzī and Marvazī). It is interesting that these botanical indications refer chiefly to the Panjab.²

§§44–62 on Indian kings and their habits form an integral part of all the older descriptions of India: Sulaymān, 26–9; Yaʻqūbī, Historiae, I, 106; I. Khurdādhbih, 16, 66–8; I. Rusta, 133–5; Masʻūdī, Murūj, I, 178, 372–6, 382–94; Ḥudūd, §10 (my commentary, ibid., pp. 236–9, 242, 249, etc.). As most of the kings appear in the early reports going by the name of Sulaymān (A.D. 851), which do not contain definite traces of what we consider as the report presented to Yaḥyā b. Khālid (circa A.D. 800), we have to conclude that the details on the kings go back to some other early source.

- §44. The statement on "fornication" is in I. Kh., 67, I. Faqīh, 15, I. Rusta, 132 (cf. infra §61), etc. By "fornication" must be meant some of the loose forms of marriage practised by Hindus, e.g. gāndharva, "secret informal union by copulation," Barnett, 115-6, or some traces of polyandry, cf. Bīrūnī, 52-3. Sulaymān, 51, specifically states that Indians disapprove of debauchery and confirms their abstinence from wine. According to I. Rusta, 132, the only drinker among the crowned heads was the king of al-B.h.l, "who is the king of Ceylon," cf. I. Kh., 67, and Marvazī, §44.
- §45. "Beyond him" refers to the said king of "Ceylon." The three kings (plus a queen) form a special southern group. The original information must belong to some traveller who stayed in Qimār<sup>4</sup> and whose enumeration seems to move from East to West, see I. Rusta, 133: "I saw the king of Qimār and I saw al-'Abdī," etc. As the three names are already in Ya'qūbī's *History*, I, 106 (written c. A.D. 891, last year mentioned A.D. 872), we must presume that the report belongs to the middle of the ninth century and perhaps to an earlier time.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Saytara evidently=chitra, i.e. Plumbago zeylanica, or Ricinus communis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>§30 might suggest that the traveller had landed somewhere in Kathiavar.

<sup>3</sup> De Goeje restores \*al-Mahal "unde Maledivae nomen habent, Ibn Battūta, IV, 119."

IV, 119."

4 Apparently a different man from Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, v.i. §61.

5 A reference to the tallest elephants is already found in I.Kh., 67, and very probably it is only a detail from the report on the southern kings.

The names of the kings have several variants in the sources:

•	•	Ι	II	III
Yaʻqūbī, I, 106		الديبل	العاريط	الصلحان
I. Rusta, 133	• •	المعارى	العادكي	الصيلمان
Mas'ūdī, I, 3)4	• •	القايدى		04.0,
Marvazī	• •	وارزىن	العاريطي	الصيامان

The name of the first king has been satisfactorily explained by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar in his thesis, The Knowledge of India possessed by Arab Geographers . . . with Special Reference to Southern India (University of London, 1938). He restores 'Abdī, etc., as \*Fāndī, i.e. Pānḍya, the important dynasty in the south-easternmost part of India (to the south of the Kāveri). This conclusion finds a confirmation in Mas'ūdī, ibid., who states that the kings possessing M.ndūr-\*fattan are all called al-Qāydī (i.e. \*Fāndī). Mandūrfattan, "lying opposite Ceylon," is Mathura, Madhura, Madura, the second capital of the Pāṇḍya, on the river Vaigai in the province of Madras. The name of the kingdom itself transmitted by I. Rusta as Ratylā is still dark. Ya'qūbī's al-Dybl is apparently a variant of the same name, and it certainly has nothing to do either with Daybul near the estuary of the Indus, or with the port of Dabhol, in southern Konkan (85 miles south of Bombay).

Dr. Nainar identifies the best preserved third name with the Cola (Chola) kingdom (in the basin of the Kāveri) and, by the method of elimination, attributes the remaining name to the third Dravidian kingdom of Cera (Chera or Kerala) in the south-westernmost India.

Dr. L. D. Barnett to whom I submitted the case, appositely remarks that (1) while  $Saylam\bar{a}n$  very closely corresponds to Ceraman ("Cera King"), no corresponding compound of  $Cola + m\bar{a}n$  is attested, and that (2) in view of the date of the report, the Colas (Chola) could hardly have been mentioned by the author, for their kingdom was still occupied by the Pallavas, to whom our second name must refer. A well-known title of the Pallava family, which often occurs in the inscriptions, is  $K\bar{a}duvetti$ , and this must be the key to the problem.

This ingenious hypothesis is supported by the following facts. The name of the real Colas (as applied to the Coromandel coast) appears in later Arab geographers as Ṣāliyān or Shūliyān.¹ The early report speaks of the Ṣaylamān as the strongest of the three kings, and this presupposes a period previous to the foundation of the great Cola "thalassocracy" (towards A.D. 870). Consequently the second name probably refers to the Pallavas during the last

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gharnāṭī (beginning of the twelfth century), ed. Ferrand in J.A., 1925, pp. 91 108; also Ferrand, *Relations*, 348, 376.

years of their domination on the Kaveri. It can be easily read as  $Q\bar{a}ruti$  (with r for d), or restored as  $Q\bar{a}ruwett\bar{i}$ .

At the very end of §45 enumerating the southern group of kings, comes the reference to a QUEEN in whose kingdom the tallest elephants were found. All the parallel texts show that this is the right place at which the queen should be mentioned, but Marvazī has rearranged the text and transferred a part of the data into §57, which seems to have in view Orissa and not the region of the Aghbāb in the southernmost part of India. The mistake has been occasioned by the similarity of the names of the queen's kingdom and Orissa. Thus a new complication has been created in a subject sufficiently confused in itself.

The accounts of the southern queen are all based on the same original source, the first trace of which is found in I. Khurdādhbih, 67, who briefly refers to the elephants of the Aghbāb standing 10–11 cubits. I. Rusta, 134, who apparently uses the more complete text of I. Khurdādhbih, says that in bilād al-Aghbāb there is a country Urf.sīn ruled by the queen Rābiya (?): to her belongs the place called Barāz, where the elephants reach the height of 10–11 cubits. According to the Ḥudūd (§10, 12.) "Ur.sh.fīn is a town with a district protruding into the sea like an island. Its air is bad. That sea is called bahr al-Aghbāb. The kingship belongs to a woman called Rāyina."

All the sources, including Marvazī (§§45 and 58) connect the queen's domains with the region of the Aghbāb, which is placed in the neighbourhood of Ceylon. Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 123) says: "opposite Sarandīb vast aghbāb are found. The meaning of ghubb is a huge river (or valley wādī) extremely long and wide which disembogues into the sea." In practice ghubb must be "a lagoon," the latter being a typical feature of the whole southern sea-board of India. To the other texts which I have quoted in the commentary on the Ḥudūd, 243-4, may be added the aghbāb Sarandīb and al-thiyāb al-ghubbiya of the 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, which the editor (van der Lith) explains as "textiles of the Coromandel coast." In §58 Marvazī is clear about the Aghbāb being the region from which travellers proceed to the farther East.

On the strength of the indications of the *Hudūd*, I located *Ursh.fīn/Urf.sīn* on the Mandam peninsula forming the southernmost protuberance of India, and suggested that the final element of the name might be restored as \*-fattan (<pattam, paṭṭanam). In \$57 bis Marvazī refers to the Rāmshīr (Rāmeśvaram) island which forms a link between Mandam and Ceylon, which indicates that the original source contained more details on the region of Mandam. On the other hand, in \$47 the queen is placed dūna, i.e. "below" or "on the nearer side of the Ṣaylamān," which seems to mean either "to the south" or "to the east" of Cera, v.s. 143. For more detail see \$57. Dr. Barnett has communicated to me a series of entirely new

suggestions. He compares  $\overline{Urf.sin}$ , etc., with Uraghum/Uragam (or possibly \*Uraga-pattanam), which lies to the south of Trichur (Cochin), "near the head of a lagoon which opens into the sea at Chetwai: so it may be said to be on a jazīra." The existence of a queen in Cochin is plausible. "In this region the ancient Dravidian rule of matriarchy still to some extent persists, e.g. in the marumakkattāvam, or law of succession through sisters' sons." Further the name Barāz reminds Dr. Barnett of "the name of Pollachi (in Tamil spelt *Pollātśi*), a taluk and its headquarters town in Coimbatore District. Pollachi town is ancient. It lies a short distance (c. 20) miles) east of the modern frontier of Malabar and not much further from the adjoining border of Cochin. In the south of the taluk are the Anaimalais or 'Elephant Hills' where fine elephants still range and are caught in pits. In the time of the early Muslim geographers Coimbatore and the southern part of Salem district, forming the Kongu-deśa, were under the suzerainty of the Ceras when the Ceras were the dominant power: then the Pandyas gained control of them; and finally the Colas under Aditya I became masters of Kongu."

Dr. Barnett's hypothesis is very tempting: *Urf.sīn* could be easily restored as \*Uragha-fattan (see Arabic text, p. 52, line 18) and Barāz (possibly "Burāz or Burrāz) would suit Pollātsi. The only points which remain to be elucidated are: Uraghum's titles to distinction and the purport of the indication that Urfsin lay "on the lower (nearer) side of the Saylaman." One might also quote the learned Sanskrit name of the Cola capital, viz. Uragapura, which the pundits¹ tried to substitute for the native Uraiyūr (Old Trichinopoly, Warriore). Later, when the true name of the Colas (Sūliyān, Shūliyān) was applied by Arabs to the Coromandel coast, they spoke of the latter as a jazīra,2 i.e. "a peninsula," and in this connection we may remember the indication of the H.A. concerning the queen's land protruding into the sea. Should these facts be considered in themselves one might imagine that the early Arab source hinted at some vassal state on the territory of the renascent but not fully restored Colas, for our source definitely refers to the period of the Cera supremacy.

§46. The name which Marvazī (f. 1a) vocalises *Bulharā* corresponds to the title of *Vallabha-rāja* belonging to the Raṣṭrakūta kings of the Deccan. \**Ballahrā* would possibly be a better reading. Like I. Kh., Ibn Rusta and Mas'ūdī, our author has misunderstood the original source, for according to Sulaymān, 28, Ballahra's kingdom only *started* from al-Kumkan, see *Ḥ.-'A.*, 238.

§47. Țāqin is Takka-deśa in the region of Sialkot, H.-'Ā., 249. §48. N.jāba should be restored \*al-Jāba (cf. Lhrz for al-Jurz in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See K. N. S. Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Madras, 1932, p. 175. 
<sup>2</sup> Gharnātī, 108 (v.s. p. 144, note 1).

the H.-'A.). Ibid., 250, I suggested an identification of his kingdom with the small principality of Chambā, in the south of Kashmir. §49. Jurz is the great king of the Gurjara-pratīhāra dynasty,

§49. Jurz is the great king of the Gurjara-pratīhāra dynasty, the raja of Kanoj. The *tāṭir* coin (Reinaūd, 236: staters¹ or tetradrachms?) is described by Sulaymān as Ballahrā's coin, but I. Kh., 67, attributes it to Jurz. See H.-'A., 237, 250.

§50 is based on a misunderstanding. As the parallel text of I. Rusta, 135, shows, this item is merely a continuation of the paragraph on Jurz. The mistake comes from the word wa-ba'dahu, instead of which one must imagine wa-laysa, "and there is no other

king more opulent than he," i.e. Jurz.

§51. The identity of the king *DHM* is one of the most difficult problems in the series of the texts relative to India, cf. my commentary on the H.-'A., 237-8. Yule's very cautious suggestion that the variant RHMY might stand for \*Rahmaniya (?), i.e. Pegu in Burma, is absolutely out of the question, as the king was a neighbour both of Jurz and Ballahrā. In the H.-A., 238, I expressed the view that the traditional enumeration of Indian kings reflects the situation before 850 A.D. A further comparative study of the sources moves me to improve upon my previous surmise by taking for the prototype of DHM/RHMY the Pala king of Bengal Dharma-(pāla). In his valuable book, The Dynastic History of Northern India, I, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 279, 287, Professor H. C. Ray assigns him to the period A.D. 769-801, which he even extends down to 815. During this period Dharma-pala created for himself an almost imperial position in northern India. His possessions extended in the north from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jālandhar, and in the south down to the valleys of the Vindhya. He defeated the king of Kanoj Indraraja and set up in his place his own candidate Chakrayudha. These facts very closely agree with the indication of Sulayman, 29, that DHM was at war with Jurz and Ballahra, and that of I. Kh., 67, that "after" DHM (i.e. next door to him) comes the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam). The geographical hints contained in the *Hudūd* (§5, 9., §6, 16., §7, 5, §10, 11.) are also in keeping with the position of Dharma-pāla's realm.<sup>2</sup> Two points deserve particular mention. Marvazi returns to DHM in §§53 and 55, and in the latter passage describes a temple lying in the Ganges valley and visited by the subjects of DHM, which suggests a connection of this king with the basin of the Ganges. More curious is the second point: Sulayman, 29, states that RHMY was not of noble origin. This unusual and characteristic remark appears to apply especially to Dharma-pāla. H. C. Ray, 282, states that in their inscriptions the Pālas "never claim descent from any mythical or epic hero which is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But for "stater" Gardīzi, ed. Barthold, 91, gives s.tyr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In view of my new hypothesis, my commentary on other points has to be reconsidered, e.g. with regard to the towns lying on the Lesser Mihrān. Under §§53 and 57 I have introduced the alterations which the new interpretation has rendered inevitable.

such a common feature in the genealogical tables of many other dynasties of India," and comes to the conclusion that the founder of the dynasty "belonged to an educated plebeian family."

A group of Arabic characters admits of numerous interpretations but the variants DHM and RHMY look very much like the expected Muslim form of Dharma, cf. Biruni, 20, 64: DHRM; see Arabic text, p. 52, line 19. In the Ḥudūd a ḍamma is seen over DHM indicating the reading Dahum, but very probably is only a trace of the omitted r: DHRM. As Dharma-pāla's empire was ephemeral, and even he himself, towards the end of his life, seems to have surrendered to his Raṣṭrakūta rival, H. C. Ray, 286, the original report on DHM, and apparently the other kings, must belong to a period round about A.D. 800 or slightly earlier. Consequently, at least some of the details on DHM may go back to Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy (v.s.).

§52. Qāmrūn is a constant Arabic mis-spelling of the name Kāmarūpa, i.e. Assam. Cf. I. Kh., 67, who also mentions gold as the local product and concludes with a statement on the kings having "split ears," i.e. wearing ear-rings. Another item on Assam

is §16. On gold, see commentary on Chap. VIII, §42.

§53 seems to form an appendix to §51 and has a parallel in the Hudūd, §10, 7., according to which five territories N.myās, Harkand, Urshin (Orissa), S.m.nd.r and Andras belonged to Dahum. The original author may have thought that a considerable part of the east coast of India stood in vassal dependence on the said king, cf. also §57. Marvazī has telescoped several items of the original. His H.dkīra, with its long bazaar, corresponds to H.dd.njīra of the Hudūd, §10, 5., where it forms part of F.nsūr, and belongs to its own king called Saţūhā. Fanşūr coming as it does before Qimār (Khmer) must correspond to Panchur, the celebrated camphor port on the western coast of Sumatra, cf. H.-'A., 240. Marvazī seems to, have committed a mistake in including H.dkīra in Dahum's possessions. He also confuses the southern kingdom of Urshfin with Orissa, and in this context spreads DHM's authority over Bahr al-aghbāb on which see §§45 and 57. Under §10, 7. the Hudūd refers to the shell-trumpet \*shank while Marvazī speaks of cowrie shells which he calls k.bnj (?), cf. Sulayman, 6, kbtj (?), and 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, 103, 216: dibājāt al-k.st.j (?): these spellings are obvious mutilations of a term derived from Ssk. kaparda, or kapardikā, Prakrit kavadda, which has given kauri in Hindi. The gizhgāv also contributes to the impression of confusion, for the yak (poëphagus grunniens) is out of place in the region producing pepper (H.-'A., §10, 12.), unless the term is intended for some kind of buffalo (bos bubalus).

§54. Marvazī's text is parallel to that of I. Rusta, 135-7. Both confuse the descendants of the original conqueror of Multān, Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Munabbih, cf. Biruni, 56, with the later Qarmaṭian usurpers who alone could read the *khuṭba* for the Fatimid

caliph (called simply Maghribi, "the Western one," in the Ḥudūd, but very respectfully Imām al-muslimīn in I. Rusta and Marvazī). As the Fatimids did not rise as an independent dynasty until A.D. 907, this item must be an interpolation belonging to the earlier part of the tenth century (Jayhānī?). A later change is indicated by the Shī'a traveller I. Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 322, who states (circa A.D. 977) that the rulers of Multān read the khuṭba for the 'Abbāsids.

The description of the idol is only an abridgement of the more complete passage in I. Rusta, 13519-13718. The latter text invokes the authority of someone "who informed me, whom I trust and who visited the country," 13520, 13614. The description is possibly(?) borrowed from Jayhani, and the first person of akhbarani may refer to him. In this case the passage belongs to the beginning of the tenth century and has nothing to do with Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy. Sulayman, 130, says very little of the idol. The accurate Muqaddasi, 4, may have in view the passage on Multan when he speaks ironically of the glut of details in Jayhani: "now he describes the idols of Hind, and now he speaks of the wonders of Sind." I. Ḥauqal, 321-2, gives an accurate description of the idol itself. The account of the idols in the Fihrist, 347, is confused. Although it follows the introduction on the MS. in al-Kindi's writing, it cannot go back to the same original source as the description of the Indian sects, *ibid.*, 347. Possibly the source on Multan is Abū-Dulaf (v.s. p. 126), for the story of the idol's being supported by magnets is found in the report of this wonder-teller as quoted in Yāqūt, III, 457.

§55. For a third time Marvazī returns to DHM's kingdom in connection with the temple on the Ganges where devotees allow themselves to be pecked to death by birds of prey, cf. Gardīzī, §38.

§56. The three kingdoms are also found mentioned in Sulaymān, 32, Ya'qūbī, Historiae, I, 106, Mas'ūdī, Murūj, I, 388, and the Hudūd, §10, 8.—10. (commentary, ibid., p. 242). The mystery of T.rsūl has been cleared up thanks to Prof. G. H. Luce (Rangoon), who has drawn my attention to the indigenous name Tirchul (in Chinese transcriptions T'u-lo-chu, T'u-li-ch'u) of the Pyu (P'iao) people who in the ninth century were in occupation of the plains of Burma. Our Ţ.rsūl (better: \*Ţ.rshūl) must be restored as \*Tirchul, cf. Luce, Names of the Pyu in J. Burma Research S., XXII/2, 1932.

I have now come to the conclusion that the second kingdom Mūsa (or Mūsha) is identical with the still existing Mo-so people of the north-western part of Yün-nan. The early history of the Mo-so is little known, see Chavannes, in J. Bacot, Les Mo-so, Leiden, 1930, p. 132. They came from outside and founded a kingdom in the prefecture of Li-kiang-fu (to the north of Ta-li-fu in the loop of the Yangtze, H. R. Davies, Yün-nan, 1909, 388). The Mo-so are a gifted people: a large collection of their pictographic MSS., including

some dramas, belongs to the Congress Library, Washington, see Reports of the Librarian of Congress, 1924, 278-9 and 1930, 386-90. In Mongol times the Mo-so were called Chaghan-Jang, i.e. the White Jang to distinguish them from the Qara-Jang (Marco Polo: Carajan), whose centre was at the present day Yün-nan-fu, v.s. commentary on China, §35. The Chinese call the Mo-so Pe-man "White barbarians," and transcribe their indigenous name Mo-siè or Mosha, see Deveria, La frontière sino-annamite, 164. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XV, p. 23, says that some of the Qara-Jang are white (v.s. p. 86); at another place, ed. Blochet, 374, he definitely refers to the Chaghan-Jang. Our identification is supported not only by the name and by geography, but also by the precious indication in Sulayman, 31: "the Muja (= Musa) are a people of white complexion, in dress similar to the Chinese. Musk is abundant with them. The country is covered with white mountains unusually long. The inhabitants have to combat with several kings that surround them" (i.e. probably the five other kingdoms of Nan-chao).1

More doubtful is the identity of Mank. As the kingdom is said to be situated beyond Mūsha, on the frontier of China, one would expect a reference to Qarā-Jāng, i.e. the original part of the strong kingdom of Nan-chao having its centre at Yün-nan-fu.<sup>2</sup> However, in this case the name Mank (variants: Mayd, Mabd, Mand), cannot be explained. If we start from the form Mank, recorded both in the Hudud and Marvazi, we can restore it as \*Mang and further identify its bearers with the well known "Gold teeth" of Marco Polo, II, 69, in Chinese Kin-chih, in Persian Zar-dandān, Rashid al-din, XV, 23, Blochet, 378. According to Deveria, o.c., 129, the Gold-teeth were originally called Mang-shih-man, "the barbarians of Mang-shih," as the Chinese called a region in the western corner of Yün-nan (on the right bank of the Salween, some 100 Km. to the S.W. of Yung-ch'ang). M. Polo places the Zardandan at 5 days' distance to the west of Carajan, while according to Rashid al-din their frontiers ran partly with Tibet (sic) and partly with Qarā-Jāng. The Kin-chih are supposed to survive in the present-day Po-jen, "White men," or Min-kia-tsu, whose headquarters are now the plains of Ta-li-fu, Davies, Yün-nan, 372.

In any case, the identification of Tirchul and Mū-sha has a considerable importance in that it suggests that Muslim merchants in the ninth century were already acquainted with the "Burma-Yün-nan" road, so much in the news at the time of writing (1940).

<sup>3</sup> At present Mang-shih (local name Möng-Hkwan) is an important Shan state of Yün-nan, Davies, o.c., 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The alternative spelling  $M\bar{u}$ -ja may point to some soft pronunciation of s. There may be also some confusion between the Mo-so and another people called Mo-ch'o, Deveria, 164, Sainson, 180, which is a branch of the Black Lolo, and whose representatives are also found in the region of Ta-li.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This kingdom was founded in 728 and successfully resisted the T'ang. In 862 its king invaded Tongking. In 923 the kingship passed to the dynasty of Ta-li. In 1253 the Mongols subdued Nan-chao, cf. also Chavannes in Bacot, o.c., 132.

Incidentally the identification increases the chances of our tentative interpretation of some names in the chapter on China, §35.

§57. Above (§45) we have said that §57 is a result of Marvazi's own rearrangement of the sources. The following details in the paragraph belong to the queen of §45: the name of the kingdom  $(Urfsh\bar{\imath}n, I.R.: Urfs\bar{\imath}n, H.-A.: Urshf\bar{\imath}n)$ ; the name of the queen (\*Rāniya < Ind.  $r\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}$ ); the country lying "on the sea-coast" and having a bad climate.

Entirely distinct are the statements bringing  $\overline{U}$ rfsh $\overline{n}$  into contact with DHM. A king of northern India (namely, of Bengal?) could never have had any direct relations with the territory lying in the farthest south beyond the kingdoms of Cola and Pandya. In my commentary on the  $\underline{H}ud\overline{u}d$  I tried to obviate the confusion of the kingdom of  $\overline{U}$ rsh $\overline{n}$ , etc., with Orissa, which had crept into de Goeje's edition of I. Rusta, p. 134, note f. I feel confident that in our \$57 we have a similar confusion of the two names. In I. Kh., 64, the name  $\overline{U}$ rnsh $\overline{n}$  (\* $\overline{U}$ r $\overline{s}$ h $\overline{n}$ ?) refers to Orissa, which is described as "a great kingdom possessing elephants, (riding) animals and buffaloes, as well as numerous goods; its king is of elevated rank." In a parallel passage, the  $\underline{H}ud\overline{u}d$  (\$10, 7.) has  $\overline{U}$ rsh $\overline{n}$ n, which it definitely distinguishes from  $\overline{U}$ rsh $\overline{f}$  $\overline{n}$ n. Orissa, neighbouring on Bengal from the south, was certainly within the radius of DHM's activity, and this would be the explanation of our \$57.

The dark point is whether in Marvazī's source there existed a reference to a separate queen of Orissa, or whether Marvazī himself having confused the two names, attributed to Orissa the characteristics of Urshfin. The personal details of the queen (huge, astute, warlike, etc.) do not occur in any other source, and there is still a presumption that Muslim travellers had heard of the existence of a queen in Orissa.

Orissa, comprising the Mahanadi basin with the adjoining territories, "has always been ruled by a number of dynasties simultaneously." The records of single dynasties are known only imperfectly. In the provisional summary, compiled with great care by H. C. Ray, o.c., 391-503, there are several Mahādevīs mentioned either together with their husbands or independently. Among the Kara rulers of Tosali (in the delta of the Mahanadi) there was a queen called Dandi Mahadevi, who "ruled the earth for a long time." According to H. C. Ray she reigned before A.D. 1076, but R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Calcutta, 1930, I, 146-56, assigns to her a much earlier date round about A.D. 958-65. Dandi Mahadevi had succeeded her mother, and the latter's mother-in-law (? Banerji, I, 160) was Tribhuvana Mahādevī of whom an inscription is still extant. These dates are obviously too late to be contemporary with Dharma-pāla of Bengal, but they show that there was a tradition of queenship in Orissa. Besides, Muslim DHM could easily refer to Dharma-pala's successors as well.

§57 bis (which in Marvazi's text is inserted out of place as §17 of the factitious Chap. XV) has to be considered jointly with §57. The name of Rāmshīr is not recorded in other sources, unless the name of Bābīn (I. Kh., 63, tentatively restored by Yule as Bāpattam?) or Nūbīn  $(H.-A., \S10, 11., mistaken for \S6, 16.)$ , closely connected with Ceylon, is but a mis-spelling of Rāmshīr in Arabic cursive. The remaining part of the paragraph corresponds to I. Kh., 65, but the latter places the whistling dwarfs in the island of Rāmī. In fact between §§57 and 58 there is a gap occasioned by the omission of the islands on the way from Bahr al-Aghbāb to Zābaj (v.s., p. 50, note 1).

§58. Zābaj (Jawaga), cf. H.-'A., 56, refers to the insular empire of the Śrivijaya dynasty, whose importance was fully brought to light by the late G. Ferrand, L'Empire soumatranais des Crīvijaya, in Jour. As., 1922, XX, 1-104, 106-246. Sulayman has a long paragraph on Zābaj, 89-101, with a slightly different version of the ordeal, 48; Marvazi's text is entirely parallel to I. Rusta, 138.

The island of B.rţā'il, cf. I. Kh., 68, has not been identified. Arabic birțīl, pl. barāṭīl, means "a present made to gain someone's favour," and its root may have influenced at least the spelling of B.rtā'il with t. Among the curious features of the island is the beauty of its inhabitants<sup>2</sup> and the music heard there by night. am tempted to identify B.rtā'il with Bali, the fame of whose musicians and dancers could not fail to reach Arab mariners. The story of Dajjāl may refer to some of the Balinese masks, but I cannot say whether Bali was ever a market for cloves as it is claimed in Ibrāhīm b. Wāsif's Abrégé des merveilles, see Ferrand, Relations, 144. B.rtā'il (under the disguise of Kāsil) has found its way into the story of Sindbad, Alf-layla, night 541.

§59. Cf. §19 on Vasudeva. In I. Rusta, 139, as well, this short

item comes separately after the account of the ordeals.

§60. The item on the severity of the king of Qandahār (?) and his punishments exactly corresponds to what I.R., 133, says about the king of Khmer. Our §§60-62 form one block of information on Khmer, and Qandahār would be out of place in this connection.<sup>3</sup>

§§61-62. *Qimār* is Khmer, i.e. the territory of the present-day Cambodia. Although its population belonged to Australasian stock, the country, from the earliest times, formed a dependency of Indian

<sup>1</sup>I.e. Sumatra, see Ferrand, Relations, 25. Apparently Marvazi took Rāmshīr and Rāmī for one place.

 $^2$  Our source definitely uses the comparison k-al-majānn al-muṭarraqa as a term of beauty. Lane's interpretation of the simile: "as though their faces were clad with sinews one above the other, rough and broad faces" does not suit the text. Dozy, Supplement, gives tarraqa, "remettre a l'enclume."

\*Early geographers usually refer to the region of the present-day Qandahār as al-Rukhkhaj (Arachosia) and place its capital at Panjwāy. The name Qandahār (Baladhuri, 434: Qunduhār) appears in I. Kh., 56, and Ya'qūbī, BGA, 281. More usually al-Qandahār stands either for the port of Ghandhār in the Gulf of Bombay, cf. H.-'A., §6, 16. and §10, 17., or for Gandhāra, cf. Biruni, 101. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XIII, 120 (tr. 73) the country Qarā-Jāng in Yün-nan, v.s. §56, was called both by the local population and the Indians K.nd.r, while the Tājīks

culture. Vishnuism and Sivaism flourished in Cambodia side by side with Buddhism, see Grousset, Histoire de l'Extrême Orient, 556, 563. Consequently it was regarded as India by Muslim travellers who visited it as a half-way station on the way to China. According to I. Rusta, 133, and I. Faqih, 16, the genuine Indian religion was from Khmer.

I. Rusta, 132, quotes an Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who spent two years in Khmer and attributes to him the well-known report on the prohibition of fornication and wine which has been reproduced by the majority of geographers and is found embedded even in Sulaymān's longish chapter on Khmer, 93-101, v.s. §44. This early traveller (before A.D. 850?) must be responsible for the majority of data on Khmer contained in our source, but I. Rusta, 133 (cf. our §60) seems to be quoting some other authority on Khmer as well. The king to whom the traveller refers may be the founder of the Khmer empire Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-69), whom Ferrand identifies with the Khmer prince established on the throne by the Śrīvijaya mahārāja, see Abū Zayd Sīrāfī in Sulaymān, 99, cf. Grousset, o.c., 559.

Marvazi's statement on the 100,000 devotees is in I.R., 133, but neither the name  $R.m\bar{a}d\bar{i}^1$  nor the story of the devotee's caustic remark are found elsewhere. This passage is a clumsy interruption of the narrative.

§63. In I. Rusta, 133, as well, al-Arm.n (which is better than our Arh.n) comes after Khmer, but it does not seem that it was visited by the traveller who declares to have seen the kings of Khmer, \*Pāṇḍya and Fārṭī (v.s. §45). \*Al-Arman closely corresponds to Rmen, as the kingdom of Pegu (in the delta of the Irawaddy) was called in Old Mon.<sup>2</sup> It is quite natural that Pegu should have been referred to as the kingdom nearest to Khmer which before the invasion of the T'ai (thirteenth century) stretched up to the Salween.

North of Pegu with its Mon population lay the kingdom of Pagan (or Prome) inhabited by the Pyu, who called themselves Tirchul (v.s. §56). This kingdom lay on the road from Burma to China, the two kingdoms Mūsha and Māyd (Mānk?), forming further stages towards Yün-nan. On the Indian side we have the king DHM, whom we have identified with Dharma-pāla, and Assam, called by the Arabs Qāmrūn (for Kāmarūpa). Outside these names, there are two other difficult names in the region connecting Burma with They occur in Sulayman, 32 (copied in Mas'ūdī, Murūj, I, India.

Cathay, p. clxxxv.

<sup>(</sup>Iranians) called it  $Q.nd.h\bar{a}r$ . In the volume edited by Blochet, 376–7, the forms K.ndh.r and  $Q.nd\bar{u}$  correspond to K.nd.r. Here \*Qandah\bar{a}r is only a popular etymology by which a better known name was substituted to a similar barbarian one. <sup>1</sup> As yet  $al-r.m\bar{a}diya$  has found no Indian explanation. In Arabic,  $ram\bar{a}d$ , "embers, ashes," may refer to some austerity practised by the devotees (v.s. §§20, 22). But  $al-r.m\bar{a}di$  may be merely a mis-spelling for  $al-Qim\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ , "Khmerian". See Arabic text, p. 52, line 20.

2 Luce, "Notes on the Peoples of Burma" in Burma Census Report, cf. Yule,

368), whose series runs as follows: al-RHMY (\*Dharma-pāla of Bengal)—al-Kāshbīn (Mas'ūdī: al-Kām.n)—al-Qīr.nj (Mas'ūdī: al-F.r.nj)—then "many kingdoms whose numbers are known to God alone" (omitted in Mas'ūdī), one of them being al-Mūja—then al-Mābad (Mas'ūdī: al-Mūja and al-Mānd). As a neighbour of Bengal al-Kāshbīn or al-Kām.n should correspond to Assam,¹ and to some extent this is confirmed by the detail on the beauty (?) of its inhabitants, cf. Marvazī, §16. For Qīr.nj/F.r.nj there remains only some territory of Burma. As Mas'ūdī adds that it is situated on a "tongue of land," one might take it for an alternative designation of the peninsula of Pegu, but if "the tongue" points only to the narrowness of the territory, one might consider Arakan. The native name of the latter Rakhuing does not resemble the Arabic forms, even if we restore them as \*Qarang, Farang, etc.² Between Qīr.nj and China Sulayman mentions "many" other kingdoms (of which he names only al-Mūja). I. Rusta omits the Burma—Yün-nan road altogether.

§§64–67 all refer to places connected with Hindu cults. In this regard, it is similar to Gardīzī's confused §6. The latter follows a paragraph on Indian crafts and enumerates "the towns in which such wonders ('ajā'ib) are wrought''; it refers to some facts not recorded elsewhere (Buddha's birth-place etc.) and spells some names in a peculiar way (J.l.ndh.r). On the other hand the arrangement of Marvazī's list and its details entirely correspond to those of the  $Hud\bar{u}d$ :

$\dot{H}$ ' $ar{A}$ .	Marvazi		
§10, 37.	§64		
§10, 38.	§65		
§10, 39.	<b>§</b> 66		
§10, 40.	§67		

This points to a common source (Jayhānī), but the  $Hud\bar{u}d$  and Marvazī complement each other. For commentary see H.-4., 247.

§64. The detail on  $R\bar{a}m.y\bar{a}n$  lying in the region of Lūhūvar (Lahore) partly agrees with the  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , in which the town comes immediately after Lahore, but is said to be under Multān. The name of Rām.yān seems to be connected with Rāma. Dr. L. Chandra draws my attention to a sacred place, Rāma-chautra, situated on the Rāvi downstream from Lahore.

§65 is completed by f. 60b (Chap. XIX): on a king of Jālāndhar (sic) who lived 250 years and on the medicinal products of the place (v.s. p. 143). The two passages combined correspond with the *Hudūd* and Gardīzī (f. 190a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ferrand, Relations, 14, deciphers Kāshbīn as Lakshmipur.

 $<sup>^2\</sup>mathcal{Q}$  can be easily confused with t. It was suggested to me that Tyrang might stand for Talaing, but the latter is the Burmese name of the ancient inhabitants of Pegu. As the Burmans occupied the region towards A.D. 1286 we cannot project the term into the 9th-10th century.

§66. I have nothing to add to my tentative identification of S.lābūr (which could be easily restored as \*Singāpūr) with Hsüan-Tsang's Seng-ha-pu-lo (Siṃhapura). The spot on which the capital of this region stood is still doubtful. Most probably it lay near the Salt Range which stretches north of the Jhelum. Gen. A. Cunningham placed it first at the sacred spring of Kētas, and later, at the village of Malot, 15 miles west of Kētas. The whole problem has been reconsidered on the spot by Sir A. Stein, Archaeological reconnaissance in N.W. India and S.E. Iran, 1937, 45–58. The author concurs in the opinion that Simhapura lay at, or near, Ketas, but some difficulties with the distances indicated by Hsüan-Tsang seem still to stand in the way of reaching final conclusions.

The *Ḥudūd* gives a curious indication on the trade and the coinage of S.lābur. Marvazī is more interested in the system of remuneration of the courtesans.

§67. B.rājūn, B.rāhūn (?) (cf. Ḥudūd: B.rīhūn? and Muqaddasi B.rhīrwā) is difficult to identify. According to the Hudūd it possessed it's own king and looked like a ribāt (fortified camp). For the Arabic forms of this indistinct name see Arabic text, p. 52, The obvious identification would be with Benares which meets the indication of the sacred waters (Hudūd, §10, 40.) and of the 700 "houses belonging to idols" (Hudūd: "300 idol temples"). However, the name of Benares (Ssk. Vārānasi, Biruni: Bānārsī) cannot be recognised in the available forms. Outwardly the spelling might be taken for Budā'ūn (<Buddhgaon), but the latter is said to have been constructed by a prince Buddha only in the tenth century A.D. Budā'ūn stands on the Sot (or Yār-i Vafādār), a left tributary of the Ganges. An inscription of the 12-13th century found in Lakhanpur, a suburb of the city, enumerates eight generations of local rulers and says that under the sixth of them "there was never any talk of Hambiras (Muslims?) coming to the banks of the river of the gods." See Budaun: a Gazetteer, Vol. XV of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, Allahabad, 1907, 130-1. On the whole, Budā'ūn was not sufficiently distinguished in the past and the "river of the gods" apparently refers to the Ganges and not to the Sot. The only Hindu temple of which a mention is found in the Gazetteer was dedicated to Nilakantha Mahādeva and was later converted into a mosque.

# CHAPTER XIII THE HABASHA

§1. The term Habasha comprises not only the Abyssinians but also other peoples of north-eastern Africa ( $Ai\theta io\pi\epsilon s$ ). introduction develops Marvazi's usual ideas on anthropology, see Chap. IX, §§17-20, Chap. XV, §1. The expression mamlakatu Fāris wal-'Arab wal-Rūm is strange and apparently refers only to

"territories." Cf. Chap. VIII, §19 ( $\overline{U}jam$ ).

§2. See Chap. IX, §§17-20. In Chap. XVII (f. 47b) Marvazī returns to his favourite antithesis of Africans and Turks: "Harmony (i'tidal) in a Zanj is that he should be black, tall in stature, with large eyes, nostrils and corners of the mouth, with crisp hair and harsh voice, whereas a Turk should be short, with narrow eyes, nostrils and mouth, and a shrill voice. If a Zanji had the characteristics (kayfiya) of a Turk, or vice versa, this would be an anomaly. Each nation, nay, each person has a special constitution (mizāj) which forms their healthiness and harmony, and the harmony of Zavd differs from that of 'Amr.'

§3. The *Hudūd*, §57, describes the "Ethiopians" as black but having regular features, lazy but endowed with lofty aspirations.

- §4. According to E. Mittwoch, Die literarische Tätigkeit Hamza al-Isbahānis, in MSOS, XII, 1909, pp. 109-69, Hamza lived circa 280-360/893-970, and his chief historical work was completed circa 350/961. Consequently he belongs to the post-Jayhanian epoch. The quotation does not seem to figure in the known works of Hamza, and it is even difficult to find a place for it in any other of his works, as far as one can judge from their titles. Nothing is known either about Hasan Sīrāfī. The story seems to indicate that the enterprising natives of Sīrāf not only traded with China (v. Chapter VIII, §26), but even penetrated far into Central Africa. The Negro kingdom of Kanam lay to the N.E. of lake Chad, see Marquart, Die Benin Sammlung, 1913, p. 82. Ya'qūbī, Historiae, I, 217, says that the Negroes Zoghāwa occupy the territory of Kānam, their king being called al-Kākra. The gigantic tree referred to in the story must be a baobab.
- §5. Jāḥiz in his Praise of the Negroes Fakhr al-sūdān 'alal-bīdān, in Tria opuscula, ed. van Vloten, 79, also quotes the opinion that the colour black is useful for the eyes. *Ibid.*, 81: the Negroes say that it was not God who made them black for their vilification, but the conditions of the country in which they live. It is possible that Marvazī in his defence of the colour white is aiming at the subtle sophisms of Jahiz. A reference to the black dress of police agents is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the characteristics of the Turks in 'Utbī-Manīnī, II, 83: broad faces, small eyes, flat noses, shaven hair (or scanty hair, beards), sharp swords, black clothing, cuirasses.

found in the Laṭa'if al-ma'ārif, 132: tulbis al-sawād 'alā al-shuraṭ, in the sense of 'carrying coals to Newcastle'!

§§6 and 7. Even on the external evidence of their fantastic character, the two anecdotes must have a common source, which in the first case is vaguely called Tawārīkh and in the second Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk. Both anecdotes jointly appear in 'Aufi (Nizāmu'd-din, o.c., Nos. 1973 and 1974), who explains that they have been taken from his maternal uncle Majd al-din Muhammad b. 'Adnān al-Surkhakati's Tārīkh-i Mā-wārā al-nahr and Tārīkh-i Turkistān. Barthold, who follows Ḥājjī Khalīfa, calls the two histories "History of Khitāy" and "History of Turkestan," see Turkestan, GMS, 17, while Nizāmu'd-din seems to regard them as a single work. Majd al-din was court physician to the Qara-khanid king of Bukhara Qilij Tamghāj-khan Ibrāhīm b. Husayn (574-97/ 1178-1200?), to whom he dedicated his work (or works). 'Aufi himself attended on that king in 597/1200, Nizāmu'd-dīn, 5, 8. Consequently there is no doubt that the work was composed towards the end of the twelfth century, at least fifty years after the last date (514/1120) found in the Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān. As Marvazī states that he took it from some "Histories" and a "History of Turkish kings," we are forced to infer that Majd al-din's was not a pioneer composition in this field. He may have taken his anecdotes from Marvazi, or even from the latter's source.

The contents of the first story apparently echo the presence of some Abyssinians on the Khorasan front. One of the important amirs whom Sultan Bark-yaruq appointed governor of Khorasan towards the very end of the twelfth century A.D.,² was called Dād-beg Ḥabashī b. Altuntaq, Barthold, o.c., 34. This may be only a personal name, but it may also indicate some admixture of African blood in the said amir. Cf. *ibid.*, 325, the personal name Zangī b. 'Alī.

In the second story Marvazī definitely refers to two Turkish kings, B.k.j (K.j?) and  $Jabb\bar{u}ya$ , i.e. Jabgh $\bar{u}ya$ . The latter is a well-known Turkish title (yabghu, jabghu, etc.), which according to I. Kh., 16, specially distinguished the Khallukh (Qarluq) rulers. The  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , §13, I. suggests that in olden times "the rulers of Kāshghar were from the Khallukh, or from the Yaghmā." From the latter tribe rose the Qara-khanids, see H.-A., p. 278, and it is tempting to take our B.k.j for a bad mis-spelling of  $Yaghm\bar{a}$  and a hint at the triumph of the latter tribe, see H.-A., 288. In 'Aufī's source the situation had become considerably entangled. The name of the second king appears in the MSS. as T.k.j, B.l.j, B.l.h, whereas the incomprehensible  $Jabb\bar{u}ya$  has been replaced by "Hasan $\bar{u}ya$ , the king of

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed after the murder of Äkinchi b. Qochqar (A.D. 1097) quoted by Marvazi in Chap. IX, §3.

¹ We must bear in mind that in Gardizi Tawārīkh refers to Jayhānī's work, see note to Chap. XII, §9. After all, Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk in §7 may refer not to a definite book but to a historical tradition.

Iran," with a clear allusion to the well-known Kurdish ruler Ḥasanūya (348–69/959–79). The original story of the Abyssinian murderer of the Jabbūya, as reported by Marvazī, was apparently invented by the opponents of the Qara-khanids, but Marvazī introduces into it a complimentary conclusion, cf. Chapter VIII, §22. Later on, at the court of a Qara-khanid prince, some new feature of nobility was conferred on his ancestor by means of his association with a pādshāh-i Iran. Barthold, Turkestan, 7, calls this story "a fantastic legend, evidently of bookish origin."

# CHAPTER XV

## REMOTE COUNTRIES

As stated in the Introduction, this Chapter is the result of a whim of Marvazī's to collect under one heading some heterogeneous items extracted from other sections. Thus the chapter is a pot-pourri of matters relating to the northern peoples, to Chinese Turkestan, to Africa and to the southern seas.

§1. The author's idea of the influence of excessive cold (see Chapter IX, §§17–20) and heat (Chapter XIII, §§1–5) is meant to be a connecting link between the disjointed items of Chapter XV.

§§2-4. For geographical reasons, the translation and commentary of this group of items on northern lands has been treated as §§2 bis, ter and quater of Chapter XV.

§§5-6, referring to Chinese Turkestan, are treated as §§5 bis and

ter of Chapter XV.

§7. Abū Sa'īd 'Ubaydullāh b. Jibrīl was one of the ten members of the Christian family of Bukht-yishū, famous in the records of medical science. Abū Sa'īd died in 450/1058, see E. G. Browne's translation of the *Chahār-Maqāla*, 145, and E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, pp. 23–4. Marvazī quotes him also in Chapter XVI, f. 47b = 'Aufi, No. 1941. Both quotations are probably from 'Ubaydullāh's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, which, according to Nizāmu'ddīn, 99, is one of the sources of Br.Mus.Or. 2784.

§9. In Muslim terminology the Zanj country represents the whole of the eastern coast of Africa, see H.  $^{\cdot}A$ ., 472. The story belongs to the usual class of wonder tales, v.i. §23 on a  $Kit\bar{a}b$  al-bahr.

§10. I. Kh., 66, refers to Alankabālūs (Nicobar islands?) as the first place of call on the way from Ceylon to China, cf.  $\dot{H}$ . 188. Sulaymān, 16, also mentions the incomprehensible language of the inhabitants. The name of the island is sometimes spelt  $Lank\bar{a}b\bar{a}l\bar{u}s$ , ( $lank\bar{a}$ , "island" +  $B\bar{a}l\bar{u}s$ , cf. §19), but the etymology of the name

seems to be al-Nankabar (or Nakkavar>Nicobar), "the naked." The language of the islanders is related to the Mon-Khmer family.

§II. Cf. I. Kh., 45. In Sulaymān, 9, these islands are separated from Lankābālūs by the sea called Andamān. In Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf's Mukhtaṣar al-ajā'ib (circa A.D. 1000), translated by Carra de Vaux under the title L'Abrégé des Merveilles, 55, a similar tribe of negro cannibals is located in the neighbourhood of the island Ramnī (Sumatra). Ferrand, Relations, 25, identifies their island with that called Maljān in Sulaymān, cf. Ḥ.-'Ā., p. 473.

§§12-13 are made up of some details found in the books of wonders. The story of the rejection of a dīnār by a savage is found in Biruni, Kitāb al-jamāhir, ed. Krenkow, p. 9, who quotes ba'du man sāfara fil-bahr. References to bahriyyūn are found also in I. Kh., 62, 65.

- §14. According to the *Hudūd*, §3, 3a, one of the "Gulfs" of the "Great Sea" which begins from the limits of Abyssinia and stretches westwards and off the Sudan is called the Barbarī Gulf. It corresponds to the Gulf of Aden. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 23I-3, calls it al-khalīj al-Barbarā. It is probable that Marvazī too is thinking not of the Berbers of Northern Africa, but of some wild tribe in the neighbourhood of Berbera (British Somaliland).
  - §15. See §8 bis in Chapter IX (Kimäk).
- §16. The story of the dumb barter of cloves corresponds to the Abrégé des merveilles, pp. 38, 44. The author first locates the bargain in the island of B.rtāyil (see our Chapter XII, §58), and then in a "clove valley in India." The origin of the story is certainly much older. It was reproduced by Bīrūnī, 159, Z. Qazvīnī, I, III, Buzurg b. Shahriyār, Les Merveilles de l'Inde, ed. van der Lith, 168, etc. Bīrūnī compares the word lavang (Ssk. lavanga), "cloves," with the name of the island Lankā, from which they are obtained (?). There seems to be some confusion about the name of the island. Marvazī calls the inhabitants of the island jinn. According to Bīrūnī, 159, the trade takes place with the jinns (ma'al-jinn). In the Abrégé des Merveilles, as translated by Carra de Vaux, 38, the cloves in B.rṭāyil are bought from "des marchands invisibles." As is known, the root of jinn means primarily "to hide."
  - §17. See Chapter XII, §57 bis (Rāmshīr).
  - §18. The story of the swimmers is already in I. Kh., 65.
- §19.  $B\bar{a}l\bar{u}s$  is Baros on the south-western coast of Sumatra, see H.-'A., 187, 228, 241.
- §20. Al-Aḥṣā (Laḥṣā) lies on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf. Nothing seems to be known of the existence of anthropoids in Arabia, with the exception of Yemen.
  - §21. See Chapter IX, §5 bis (Kāshghar).
- §22. Wahb b. Munabbih¹ (as preserved in Ibn Hishām's Kitāb al-tījān, ed. Lidzbarski, Z. f. Assyr., VIII, 1893, p. 302) reports that, before entering the Land of Darkness, Dhul-Qarnayn met in the

<sup>1</sup> Died in 104/722 or 110/728, see Mas'ūdī, Murūj, V, 462.

country of Gog and Magog a people "with small eyes and faces covered with hair, like those of apes, who do not come out at midday but only at night, for they hide themselves from the Sun's heat in mountain lairs," and then another people with blue eyes and hogfaces. Wahb's version is different from Marvazī's and he says nothing about the opposition of these monsters to Dhul-Qarnayn. In Pseudo-Callisthenes, Book II, Chapter 33, Alexander's army comes to blows with the wild men whom they found sitting on rocks and who were "naked, covered with thick hair, terrible, big and partly black with bushy hair falling down, each four cubits high, strong and ready to fight." Only with the help of burning fire did Alexander succeed in putting them to flight. Soon after (Chap. 37) follows the episode of Alexander's entering the "Lightless" Region. See H. Weismann's translation in Pfaffe Lamprecht's Alexander, 1850, II, 122-4.

§23. The island of Wāq-wāq is probably the most fantastic among the wonderlands of Muslim geography. Ferrand distinguishes between two Wāq-wāqs, the one corresponding to Madagascar and the other to Sumatra, Jour. As., avril, 1932, 193–243. The story of the flying "men" does not seem to occur elsewhere. The Kitāb al-baḥr must be some book of marvels similar to Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82). Cf. also Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf-shāh's Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib (tr. by Carra de Vaux), and his larger Book of Marvels quoted by Ḥājjī Khalīfa. On the ancient reports of mariners see above Chap. VIII, §§ 14-16.

# ADDENDA

THROUGH the kindness of the India Office Library the original MS. of Marvazi has again been placed at my disposal in Cambridge. Here are some additional gleanings to supplement the printed text. ad p. 2. Personal details. One of the monsters examined by Marvazi (f. 46b) was a woman from the village of Makhwan near Marv. Marvazi (f. 64b) reports the words of Abul-Fath b. al-Hassāb on a mason whom he saw climb onto a spire  $(m\bar{\imath}l)$  in Isfahan, in the year 477/1034. Marvazi (f. 64a) himself witnessed the similar prowess of a climber in Sarakhs. A reference to Marvazi's sojourn in Isfahan (but without date) is found on f. 62b; in the autumn some people from Idhaj (Khūzistān) were suffering from cold while Marvazi cooled his water with snow. F. 80a: an eye-witness story of a man who used a herd of sheep for the transportation of bowstrings and fish glue from Khwarazm to Marv. Marvazi often quotes Turkish terms: F. 70b: "a male camel" lūk; "a female camel" arvāna; a kind of long-haired camel khankli (\*qangli?); f. 82b: a kind of antelope in Turkish lands sagāg (\*sayghag?).

ADDENDA 161

ad p. 3. On f. 66b Marvazi sums up his first Maqāla as follows: "We have mentioned in it the conditions of men and the variety of their classes and customs, and the effect produced on them by the nature of their habitat and the climate of their residence; as well as the difference of the great nations in their customs, mode of life, creeds, sayings, mutual enmities and friendships. Also, facts about males and females, procreation, embryos and their formation. Also, facts about eunuchs and their habits. Also, habits and their influence on bodies. Also, the utility of human limbs. Now we turn our attention to dumb animals, wild beasts, cattle, beasts of prey, birds, insects, reptiles (banāt al-mā). We begin with those which have the biggest bodies and are the greatest in the estimation of men."

ad p. 6, note 1. In the chapter on Longevity (f. 61a) Marvazi quotes Abū 'Ubaydullāh Muḥammad b. 'Umrān al-Marzubānī's

Kitāb al-shabāb wal-shayb.

ad p. 30–1. The names  $Kuj\bar{a}$ , Ark and  $\bar{U}j$  belong to a series found also in the  $Hud\bar{u}d$  and Gardizi. Kucha is well known, see  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , p. 232. I tentatively identified Ark (in Persian "a citadel") with  $B\ddot{u}g\ddot{u}r$  (described by Kāshghari as a "castle"), ibid., 274. W. Henning, BSOS, IX/3, 564–71, sees in Ark a reminiscence of \*Argi, i.e. the present-day Qarashar. Phonetically this explanation is tempting, but I still reserve the possibility of Qarashar being J.mly-kat, cf.  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , § 12, 10, and p. 275 (different from J.m.l-kat, § 12, 2). On  $\bar{U}j$  see  $Hud\bar{u}d$ , 293–4.

ad p. 63. A Kitāb akhbār al-Ṣīn is referred to on f. 83a (musk). ad p. 91. On f. 82b it is stated that according to some "experts" musk is found in the deserts lying between India and China, towards Inner Tibet and Kashmir.

ad p. 122. A Kitāb al-ahwiya wal-buldān by Galen (sic) is quoted on f. 11b.

ad p. 106. The Qūrī are apparently the Khori Mongols whom Rashīd al-dīn treats as a branch of the Barghūt, ed. Berezin, VII, 108. The Barghūt lived in the country of Barghūjīn-Tūkūm. The name Khori, meaning "twenty" in Mongolian, must point to the number of original clans of this group.

ad p. 115. The island of Nokuyev, off the Murmansk coast, "is rendered especially conspicuous by its black, round-topped rocks,"

P. Semenov, Slovar Ross. Imperii, 1867, III, 361.

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k.—kingdom; mt.—mountain; r.—river; t.—tribe

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كيناج الخفّاش وهم رجال و نسام وهم بأكلون و يشربون و يُجْمون على وُكِمْ وَ عَلَيْ وَعَلَمُ السّاقِ بسطوا على وُكْرِيم ويتبعون السفى يستطعمون فإذا قصاهم انساق بسطوا تلك الأُجْرِعُة وأحضروا فيصير عَدْوُهم كالطيرانِ فلا يلحُقُهم أحدُث

مُلُعَقُ

[75] ... و ذكر الجيهاني في كتاب المسالك والممالك ان المارٌ من ساجوالى الصين يُرى عن سينه جدالاً فيه دوات المسك والثيران التي تُحكُل من أذنا بها الهذاب ورؤس الرايات - وكانها تكون هناك احسى وأجود فانٌ هذه الثيران تكثر فيما سرّق عن ارض الخينًا نحو شكنان ووحّان - وانه من الثيران تكثر فيما سرّق عن ارض الخينًا نحو شكنان ووحّان - وانه من الكاشع على مسيرة شهرين ونصف وهو على مفترف الطريق الى قتاى على استقبال المشرق والى الصين على انحراف نحو اليمين و يميل الى الحنوب وهو غير بصيد عن صافاة التبت ....

[2102]... و في سفلة الهند في أقصاها ارضٌ يقال لها زمين زر اي ارضُ الذهب ينبت فيها الذهب كما ينبت الملا والتخار يقصدونها ولا يُمكنهم أن يُدخلوها إلا ينبك فيها النهل الفُرسان ما يبلغ عِظمُه عظم الكلب و تأكل الناس و غيره من الحيوان وهي تلحق الجواد المسترعف والنجيب الزّجال ومي فُرسان النهل الكبار نوع له قرون كبار متشقّعة شبيهة بقرون الأبائل سود اللون عُظمى الحرم وكنّا نستبعد ذلك حتى حل [بعضم] الى حضرة السلطان عُظمى الحرم وكنّا نستبعد ذلك حتى حل العضم] الى حضرة السلطان الأعظم قرنًا واحدًا من قرونها وكان على ما وصفنا ووزنّاه فكان وزنه تُلْنى درهم فقضينا منه العيب و ذلك في شهور سنة اربع عشر وحسمائة وكثيرًا من البلال والقرى غلب عليها النمل غَلَتْ من الهلها و أصيت حاوية على عوشها منه عليها النمل غَلَتْ من العلما والقرى غلب عليها النمل غَلَتْ من العلما والقرى عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العلما والقرى عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العلما والقرى عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العرب عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العمل عليها وحولتها والقرى عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العمل عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العمل عليها النمل عَلَتْ من العمل عليها النمل عَلَتْ المن العمل عليها النمل عَلَتْ المنا النمل عَلَتْ المن النه النمل عنه النه النمل عنه العمل النمل عنه النم النه النمل النما 
عي ٨٤ كا المعاتب ١ ٨٤

فاستضافه و وبقي عندهم وكانوا يُطبعونه ليًا ملوحًا مِعقَفًا اذلم يكن عندهم من الطعام الا الجراد واللبن ولم الصيد فقلت لهم يومًا التي الستهيث لميًا طريًا فقالوا غدًا نركب الى الصدو نأخذُك معًا فامًا أصحنا ركبواً وركبِنْتُ معهمٌ فلمّا أصحونا قالواً لى انكُ لاتعرف طرُف الاصطياد ولكن قِفْ على شريعة هذا الوادى فاذا جاءك الصيد فاردُدُه الينا وكان الطريف ضَيَّقًا قال ِفَوقفتُ فِإِذا بِحِهَاعَةٍ على صورة الناسُ رجالُ وِنُسَاءُ وَ صبيان قد أقبلوا و أشاروا عليه بصياح يشبه الكلام بأن يتنبي عن الطريق قال فتنجيت حتى عبروا وإذاهم عراة وعلى أبدانهم سعرة رقبق كالوبر يسترهم فلما جازوا بأجمعهم حاء القوم في أترهم و قالوالى أبن الصيد؟ فقلت ما رأيت الصيدوللي رأيت ماعة مى الناس عراة وسألوني الإفراج عن الطبيق فقعلته فتضاهكوا و قالوا حَدَقَة قد ذَبحوها و قالوا حَدَقَة قد ذَبحوها و قالوا حَدَقَات الخبية وإذا مسم من ذلك الحيوان عدَّة قد ذَبحوها و علقوها على دوابر م فامّا رأيت ذلك اشمأ زَّت نفسي وعَزَفْتُ على مؤاكلتهم و امتنعت عن أكل اللم فقالوا إنّ الذي كنتُ تأكل في هذه الايام كان من هذا الحيوان و كلفوني أكله فعافته نفسي وانصرفتُ الليام كان من هذا الحيوان و كلفوني أكله فعافته نفسي وانصرفتُ الله المناه عنهم وهذا العيوان ألذى يُسمّى نسناس

(2) أو يقال أن في البراري التي بين بُدُخْشان و كاشغر من هذا الحيوان شئ كثيرً و التي التي التي التي التي المناز الله لما قصد دخول الظلمات اعترضة أمّة و ذكر في اخبار الاسكندر انه لمّا قصد دخول الظلمات اعترضة أمّة

إلَّا الْيُدِينَ فَإِن لَهِ فَي مُوضَعِ الْيَدِينِ سَينًا كَالْسِنَاحِ صِفَاقِيًا

وعرفت Ms. كا فاستضافوهم Ms.

منها حلى بسائهم ولا يتكلمون (16) ومن التجّار جماعةً يقصِدون الجزائر السافلة من ارض الهند لشِراء القُرِّنْفُلُ وقد السَّهِ عند المجهور الله يُشترى مَعايبةً ٥ لنفرة بين المتبايعين وذلك أنّ تَجَّارُ البُّو يقصِدونَ الحريرة التي هي مصدن القُرنفُلُ فاذا انتهُوا البها طرموا الأنجر و صاروًا في القوارب إلى شاطئ الجزيرة و بسطوا الأنطاع ووضع كل رجل كيسه الذي فيه الدنانير على نطعه و انصرفوا عن الجريرة عشيًا فاذا أَصِيرا عادوا في القوارب ألى ذَلكِ المكانِ فيجدونَ على كلُّ نطع بُدُل المال كُدسًا مَن القرنفل فأخذُوه وإن كُره ذِلَّك بعضهم تُرَكُهُ عِلْمُ وَعَادُ فِي اليُّومِ النَّانِي فَيَعِدُ مَالُهُ عِالِهِ عَتْ خَمَّهُ فِي كَيسهُ وَ القرنفُل مرفوعٌ وليس في مبايعتهم حيف وتلك عزيرةٌ ضغه ولا بُرَى فيها بالنهار القرنفل وإذا كان الليل شعع فيها َ شُوضاًةً وجُلَبَةً وَلَا يَجِسُر احْدُ عَلَى تَوَغَّلُهَا وَمُن دَخَلُها وَ تَحَلَّفُ هَنَاكُ لَا يُوجُد له اثره بعد ذلك ولا يُدرى أَمْرُه

ا و بعناء سرنديب بلك يقال له رامشير وبينه وبين سرنديب حبال بارزة من البحر متقاربة الوضع ووراءها أمية بأكلون الناس بمعما ينبجون ويُشرُّمُون وَفِي غَياض سُرِنديبُ نَاسُ عِراةً لا يُفَهُم كَلامُهُم وليس لهم مَطَقَتُ بَيِّنَ إِلَّا شَيٌّ كَالْصَفِيرُ وهم صفار الجُنتُ مِثَّا لَا تزيدٍ قَامَارُم عَلَى ا اربعة اشبار وهم متوخشور ً نافرون عن الناس و يتسلّقون على "

الأشجار بأيديهم مي غيران يضعوا ازجلهم عليها وفي البحرقوم مي سعة والمراكب في سُرعة والهواكب في سُرعة السير كالربح و بحلون بأ فواههم العنبر فيبيعونه بالحديد (1) وجزيرة يقال لها بالوس أهلها يأكلون الناس وذكر شيخ معروف من المتطبيب كان كثير [452] السياحة انه

نزل بقوم من العرب في بعض البراري التي في طَّرف الأحساء

ينتفعون به و امّا يجيئون خلفُ المراكب ويبيعون منهم بالإشارات والإيماء الحديد ولا يرغِبون إلّا فيه

وورام جزيرة اهلها سود مشوقهون يأكلون من يظفرون بهم من غيرهم بعد أن يقطعوه ويتزكونه معلقًا ثم يُزدردونه نيًّا ويسميم عيرهم بعد أن يُقطعوه ويتزكونه معلقًا ثم يُزدردونه نيًّا ويسميم العن الناس بعض الناس جنًّا واتمًّا خيل لهم ذلك لأزم رأوهم متسبعين يأكلون الناس الغرباء فاجتنبهم غيرهم و تباعد عنهم واده لم يُخالطهم أحدَّ جُهلت في الخياطبة مواضعاتهم واده نفرهم زادهم نفارًا وربّما قصدهم بعض الناس متن يعتقد فيهم الشرارة فاستعلم نفارهم فصاروا كالجنّ باختبائهم واختفازهم عن الناس بل كالشياطين للستقباح صورهم و اشكالهم في الناس بل كالشياطين للستقباح صورهم و اشكالهم في الناس بل كالشياطين للستقباح صورهم و الناله الم في طال الناس في في النالم ف

ا ولى فان شوة الخلقة و سماجة الأعضا و البنية والإفراط في طول القامة عير مستبكع في السودان واهل الجزائر ومنهم عراة لا يسترون سوااته (ا) تم الحاجة تُلجئهم الى المبايعات و المعاوضات ولن يستسر لهم إلا المخايبة الجالبة على الجانبين بالأمن والثر اهل الجزائر يتعاملون بالدنانير عندهم الحديد والسلح والفوط وقل ما تروج الدنانير عندهم

(4) و فى جانب لمحر العبسة فرقة من البربر يقصدهم التجّار فيُعاملونهم ويبايعونهم من بعيد وعلى رُقباء وحَفَظة خوفًا منهم فان من عادتهم أنْ يَجْبُوا من يظفرون به من الغرباء ولا يعلون بهم غير ذلك تم يُعلِّقون المذاكم بخصاها في بيوته للمفاخرة والهناهاة بكترتها

المذاكير بخصاها في بيوتهم للمفاخرة والمباهاة بكترتها ( ) تجئ الى و ذكر في كتاب المسالك والمهالك ان أمّة من ناحية الفرب ( ) تجئ الى الله اكية على السلمة على خشبة الله التراكية على السلمة على خشبة حتى يقع التراضى و يرفيون في الطساس [ط44] الشبكهية يتغذون على الطساس المطالمة الشبكهية التخذون الطساس المطالمة الشبكهية التحديث المسلمة الم

a Ms. انا اذ (٩) ما الكسترية (٤) \* د و (٤) ما اذا اذا الله علينة (٩) على الله على الله على الله على الله على ا

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و في اقاصى اراضى النبج أمد من الزنوج يسكنون ساحل البحر ليس لم بنيارة ولا مزارئ و لا بهائم وان الحرّ يفرط عليهم ولهم [436] أسراب حفروها وعمّقوها فإذا بلع النهار الجحروا في اسرابهم ولا يحكنهم البروز الا بعدما تنضيّف الشمس للغروب وطعامهم السك وتماز الا بجار و المنافقة ومفرطو الطول أراضيهم ذات مروج و المجار ملتفّة وهم مشوّهو الخلقة ومفرطو الطول في تهدّل الشفاه و استرفاء الأذان و اتساع الصاخير، و المنخرى وهم أنه المنافقة و المنخرى و المنافقة و المنافقة و المنظم المنافقة و مُلكُونُ لِحُومُ الناس مَى البيضان إذا ظَفرُوا بهم ومِي عادَتهم إذا ظَفرُوا بالبيضان أن يجبسوهم في جريرة لهم في البحر و يوسّعون عليهم الطعام ممّا عندهم حتى تعبّل أجسامهم وتكثّر لحومُهم ثم يذبحونهم و يأكلونهم و يختص ملكهم وزوجته بهذا الحطم الآباق بكثر فيشاركهما غيرها فيه و شهوة الباه غالبة عليهم لكترة حرارتهم وربّعا غرض البيضان على الملك ليختار منهم من يريد للذبح فتقع عين امرأته على واحد منهم فاستحسنته و منهم من يريد للذبح فتقع عين امرأته على واحد منهم فاستحسنته و أَمَدُتُهُ عُصِةً لنفسِها والحلتُهُ سربَها وراودُنْهُ عَي نفسه فإن وجدت عنده قَوَّةً و قدرةً على السَّاضِعة استبقَّتُهُ واستغيلَتُهُ والمعَنَّهُ من السَّوك ما يُزيدُ في قوّة الباهِ و لا تزال تُستحبِلُهُ الى أَن يَضعُفَ ويَفتُرُ فاذِا عِجزَ عى البحاع ذيحتُه وأكلته ورَبِّما وجدفُرصةٌ فانتهرها وهرب وأصحاب التعارات من يصا قبهم يقصدون مواضعهم لاقتباص الدراري والصبيان منهم فيخرجون الى مروجهم ويختفون في غياضها و يحلون معهم التسر و بطرحون منه شيئا في ملعب صبيانهم فيلتقطون ذلك و يستطيبون و و يطلبونه وفي اليوم الثاني يطرحون التسري موضع أبعدَ من العطرح الأوّل و لا يزالون يتباعدون في ذلك و الصبيان تتبعه حرصًا على التمر فإذا تباعدوا عي منازل آبائهم خرجوا عليهم واختطفوهم وحلوهم الى بلادهم (1) و في بحر الهند جزيرة تسمّى لنكبالوس ويقال انّها سبحمامة فوسخ في مثلها لا يُقهَم لسان أهلها [44a] وفي بحرهم العنبر وهم لا ياكلون Ms. و a Ms.

ويسكن في هذه الغياضِ أمّة وحشية لا يخالطِون الناس ولا يُفرُم كلامُهم كازَّهم وحوش ويأنس بعضم ببعض ومراكبهم التي يعتاجون اليها لِحُمْلُ أَتْقَالُهم في الماء تكون من جلود السَّمَكُ و جلود الوحش [43a] وإذا خرجواً من تلك الضياض كانوا بَمنزلة السكَ إذا خرَج من الماء و لَهُمْ قُسَىٰ مَى حَسْبِ وَتَبَارِهِم مَى جَلُودِ الْوَحِسْ وَطَعَامُهُمْ مَى الصِيدُ وَهُمْ يُقَاتِلُونَ وَيُحَارِبُونَ وَإِذَا أُرَادِوا أَن يُغيرُوا عَلَى عَدَوَّهُمْ خَرِجُوا 5 بعبالاتهم رجّالة ثم يجزرون عدوهم فاذا وقعوا على عدوهم بيتوهم ليلاً وأبادوهم واستأصلوهم وما وقع في الدرهم وظفروا بدمي أمتعتهم أضرموا فيها النار واحرقوها لازم لا يستجلون مي مال غيرهم الا السلاح والحديد واذا أراد أحدُهم أن يواقع امرأته أقامها على اربع تم يقضى منها وطرة كما تفعل السباع والبهائم ومهور نساؤهم البهائم والوحوش و اذا مات منهم مييّت سدّوه بالحال وعلقوه في بعض الأشجار ويُتركنُ الى أن يتلاشى ورضا أتى وأحد منهم الى خرخيز واستطعهم فإن أطَعَمُهُ الى أَرْجِهِ الْحَمْدُ واستطعهم فإن أطَعَمُه 15 ﴿ وَذَكْرُ الوسِعِبَدُ عِبِيدُ اللهُ بِي جِبْرِيلُ أَنَّهُ رَأَى جَاعِةٌ مِنَ اهل اَلشَّرِقِ قَصِدُوا الْجِي عَيْ سنم اربع و تلتين واربعانة وكانوا قريبي العهد الإسلام وكان فيهم احدً يفهم ويعرف الكلام فكان يُخبر عن أشياء عيبية منها الله قال يُخبر عن أشياء عيبية منها الله قال إنّ بقُرب الملاحهم في الشمال جبالاً عنها خلق صُورهم صُورُ الناس إلّا أنّ لرجالهم أذناب الكلاب تنعقف الى ظهورهم و نساؤهم على خلقة النساء إلّا أنّ كلّهم عواةً لا يُنستّرُون بشي إلّا بشمر على خلقة النساء إلّا بشمر على خلقة النساء إلّا بشمر على خلقة النساء إلى المراحدة من المالية المناساء الله الله المناسلة الله المناسلة المناسلة الله المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة الله المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة الله المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة الله المناسلة المناسلة المناسلة الله المناسلة ا على أبدانهم والبحريطي للم سميكات طول كل واحدة منها ثلثة أسار فهم بغتذون بها (ع) فأمّا في جهة الجنوب فالخروج عن الاعتدال يكون الى الحرارة الفرطة في الاحرات حتى تخريج طباع شكارها عن طباع الاس الى طبيعة السباع

عبال د Ms. يقرب Ms. العددهم د Ms. العددهم

الناس ويخافون شرُّهم و اهل بلغار يُسافرون اليهم و يحلون من الأمتعة الثياب والملح واشياء أخر على الات مجرِّها الكلاب فوق التلوج المتراكمة إلى لا تنحُسِرُ ومسير الرجال على تلك التلوج لا يُمكن الله بأن يشدُّوا على أقدامهم عِظام التيران التي في سُوقها و يأخذون بأيديهم [ط42] مِزرَقَين بضربون بهاعلي التلح الي وراء فتزلفُ بذلك أقدامُهم الى قدّام على وجم البعد و عُرَّ مُرَّ الربح حتَّى يقطع في اليوم مسافة كنيرة ويبايعون اهل بوره بالاشارة والمخايبة ه لاستيعاشهم وخوفهم مي الإنس و يجلبون من عندهم السمور الفائق وغيره من الوبر الجيَّد فازَّهم يصطادون تلك الحبوانات ويعتذون بالخومها ويلبسون جلودها

١٥ ﴿ وَوَرَاءُ يُورِهُ قُومٌ سِاحَلَيُّونَ يَمْعِنُونَ فِي الْبِحِرِ مِن غَيْرِحَاجَةٍ وَغُرْضٍ سوى اللفتخار ببلوغ ذلك الموضع وهم فرقة في عَاية الجهلَ والحُهُف ومِنْ جَهْلَهم ازَّم مِركبون السفى في البحر فإذا تلاقت سفينتان شدَّها زُكَّابهما احدالها الى الأخرى ويشهرون سيوفهم ويتضاربون و تلك تحيّتهم بينهم وهم من بلد واحد وربيها كانوا من محلة واحدة وليس بينهم عداوة و لا منافسة الآان ذلك دارم فاذا غلب أحدهم ساق السفينتين معًا وفي هذا البحر السَّمَاكُ الذي يُستجُّل نَابُهُ فِي نُصْبِ السَّمَالِينَ والسيوف وغيرها ﴿ وُوراءهم ارضُ سُوداً، لَا يُمَكَنُ سَلُوكُهُا ﴿ وَالسَّالِكُ مَا وَلَهُمُ اللَّهِ السَّالُكُ مَعُوالقَطْبُ يَنتهي حيث يُبطُلُ اللِّيل

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في الصيف و النهارِ في الشتاء و تدور الشمس طاهرة عليها ستَّة أسَّهُر على دائرة الأفق كدور الرَحاء فيكون السنة كلَّهَا يومَّا واحدًا

(5) وا في اقاصي بلاد الْترك بين اوَج وكاسْطر مروج ومفاوز فيها إَبِلَ وَيَّةً واصنافَ الوحوشَ و ناشَ وحشيونَ لا يُحَالطُونَ الْإِنسَ 6 و دون خرخير من جانب جينانجكت آجام وغياض ملتفّة ضيّقة السالك و مواضع أشِئة و مياة كثيرة و أودية متّعلة والطر دائم

وامّا في Ms. كا 4 العالمة (؟)

يكى ذلك لاحد قبله لأن مسناه جاقاة اسودُ وعظْم شأنه و صارالترك بعد إذا أرادوا تعظيم ملك خطبوه بقراحان قوا بلسان الترك الاسود والخافان الملك اللعظم فبهم و فواخان اى الخاقان الاسود •

#### ألْبابُ لِلْ السَّعَشَر

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#### في صنة أَهْلِ اللَّا لَمْزَافِ الْبَعْيِدةِ وَالْجَزَائِرِ

العالم كالما العلمان من المسكونة و اهل الجزائر المعيدة عن واسطة العالم كالما عملة بعدت مساكنهم عن الاعتدال تباعدت الحلاقهم وطبائعهم و الوالهم عن الاعتدال يكون الى إحدى الكيفيتين الفاعلتين أعنى الحوارة والبرودة في جهتى الشمال والجنوب والشمال والي وي فامًا جهة الشمال ففيها ارض بلخار وهي بين العرب والشمال والى أحمدها المعلم أميل و بمعدها عن خوارزم مسيرة ثلثة أشرته و لهم بكدان على شاطئ نهر في فياض أشبة جدًّا يتحصّنون بينها من الاعداء واكثر الشجارها خَذَنَكُ و فيها بينها أشجار البندة وهم مسلمون يحاربون الكفار من الاتراك ويخورنم لإكتناف الكفرة اياهم ويكون في فياضهم دوات الوبرص السخاب والسحور وغيرها وعوض ارضهم كثبر حتى إن الكورة حتى إن نهار صيفهم في غاية الطول وليلهم في غاية القيصر ويبلغ من قصر ليارم منهم أن لا يفي بنضج قردر فيها بين الشفَق والضبح في المعامرة عقد من وطرق ووراءه أمّة يقال له يوره وهم قوم متوضّتنون في الغياص لا يخالفون ووراءه أمّة يقال له يوره وهم قوم منوضّتنون في الغياص لا يخالفون في العباص لا على الشهرة المناس المناس في في المناس المناس في الناب في صفة خطر الاستواء هو المناس في الناب في صفة خطر الاستواء هو المناس في الناب في صفة خطر الاستواء هو المناس كله الاستواء المناس كله المناس في المناس في الناب في صفة خطر الاستواء المناس كله المناس كله المناس كله المناس في الناب في صفة خطر الاستواء المناس كله المناس كله المناس كله المناس كله المناس المناس المناس في المناس كله المناس كله المناس كله المناس كله المناس الشرو المناس كله 
شِيئًا مَى الْأَلُولَ وَأُصَابِ الطَّبَائِعِ يَقُولُونَ أَنَّ لُونَ البَّيَاضَ يَتُولُّدُ مِي تأثير النور في عنصر من العناصر الأربعة القابلة له وضمَّه السَّوادُ الْسَوادُ الْسَوادُ الْسَوادُ الْسَوادُ مَنَ أَنْدِ الظَّلْمَة فِي العَنْصِ الذي يَقَبُلُهُ مَنْ هَذَهِ العِنَاصُرِ وَ فَضَلَّ النَّورِعَلَى الظلمة صمّا لا يَخفَى [ط40] على العاقل والنورصفة ذاتية في الأجرام السما ويّة الشريفة التي جملها الله تعالى سببًا لِكُون جميع ما في هذا العالم وإمّا السواد فهو صفة منفية عنها غير مشاكلة لها والكلام في هذا أطهرُمن أن يحتاجَ فَيه الى تَكَلَّفِ إِقامة برهانِ فَتبت انَّ سُوادَ لُونِ الحبس والزُّمُجُ لبس بفضيلة لم واتباً هُولِعَدُم الاعتدال و مرط الاحتراف والسوادُ وإن كان نقيصة فقد ينفع في بعض الواضع إمّا منفعة جسمانية كما ينفع البصر بأن يجع النور و يُضيّف تُقيمة العين فلا ينتشرالنور وإمّا منفعة " سياسية ناموسية كما يلبس إمعاب السلطان السواد لتقريع الرعايا والتهويل 6 وقد عَكَى فَى التوارِيخِ أَنَّ مَلَكًا من ملوك خراسان عَبر فهرجيعُون لَعُعالْرِيقٌ الاتراك وكان في عسكره جاعة ص الزُنُوج وانَّ الذين خرجوا عليهم من الاتراك وكان في عسكره جاعة ص الزُنُوج الله شياطين او جنش آخر الاتراك لما انصروهم هالهم منظرهم و توهيوا انهم شياطين او جنش آخر غير الناس وانهزموا و ولوا مدبّرين من غير قتالٍ ولمّا عرف ملوك خراسان مثل زنج وكان الجوبة بين البيضان فكانوا يستصرونه في مجالسهم و يتعجّبون بالنظر الى هيئته و لوزه وكان فيه شهامة وقوّة فكر و يسالة واتفق له اسباب كثيرة من السعادات واستخصّه الملك وقتله لنفسه ولم يَزَلُ يُزداد حاله رفعة و مكنًا حتى ونب على الملك وقتله وجلس مكانه و استولى على التر مالكهم و نلقب [412] بقراخان ولم

المها وكما تجذب أبدأنهم تجذب رروعهم و الشجارهم حتى ان سحرةً من سجراتهم تظل عشرة الأف فارس و حكى حزة بن الحسن الاصفهائي عن الحسن بن عرو السيرافي الله ذكر الله رأى ببلاد السودان اشجارًا عظيمة ورأى ببلاد يقال له كانم شجوب تظلان ثلثين الف فارس وملكم يسكن على ذروتهما والى مجلس الملكومي قرار الارض الف مرقاة و فوق الشجرين محالس معولة من الخشب وهناك مَى خُدُم اللك ونسائه وحاصيته زُهاء [40a] عشرة اللف انسان ويقال إِنَّ مَنْتَ القطى عندهم يصير شعرة يصعد عليها الرجل فتناسب أبدائهم واشجارهم في فامًّا سواد اللوي فهو شامل لجيعهم وليسوا كالهند التي تختلف الوائهم الى السواد والأدمة والبياض لأنَّ حرارة بلاد الهند لم تَبلغ مبلغ الإحراق التام وكذكك حرارة بلاد العرب فامّا حرارة بلاد العبشة والزنج فقد للعنت العاية في الإمراف وهم يُرُون أَخْسَى والعَالَ في شدّة السوادّ ويُلرهون البياض ويُرُونِ انَّ الأَبيضِ لاَ يَكُونَ انسانًا ساليًا حتى انَّ منهم مِي يَأْكُلُ البيضاَن مِن الناس وقد ذهب طائفة مى الناس الى تفضيل السواد على البياض و مكاهم الى ذلك ما رأوا كثيرًا من العرب والهند الذين لهم حظوظ وافرةً من الفضائل النفسانية والجسمانية الوازم مانلة الى السواد ورأوا البيضان إذا كان بأحدهم خيلك سود كانت زائدة في جاله وملاحته وإذا مطر إنسانَ الى سوادِ كثير حادَ بَصُوْه وٱحتدٌ وإذا نظَر الى بياضٍ كُثيرٍ كُلُّ نصره كمى يُعزُ عَينه من التلج وهذه قضية مردودة وحام لا نفاذ له في السقل وذلك ان علم الطبائع ومعرفة كيانها يحكم للبياض بانه هو اللون البسيط الأقدم في الطباع الموضوع كالعنصر لجميع الالوان التي تحل عليه فتنصيخ منها ويُقبَلها كالها والسواد يُضاده في هذه العاني وما بينها مي

الألوان الأخُر فُوسائط مُركبّة منها وَيَحسب ما يقع في الهزاج مَن مُقاديرُهماً يكون تولّد الألوان بحيث لانهاية لها والسواد لا يُقيُلُ كانم Ms ع الف Ms صُورهم وعُنهم سواد اللون لإفراط الحرّ عندهم وقد ذكرنا فيما سَبق ان اعتدال المواجة وإعتدال المرجة وإعتدال المرجة تابع لإعتدال الترب والاهوية وإذا عُوف ذلك عُلم ان أحقّ المواضع بوجود معاس الصور فيه البلاد التي وقعت في واسطة العمارة وما يقرب منها كملكة فارس والعرب والروم والخاني أرض الترك فاما الذين هم في أطراف العمارة وأقاص الاقاليم فليتعدهم من الاعتدال يوجد في أعضائهم التفاوت الني هو ضدّ الإعتدال وكذلك في ألوازم مثل العبشة والزنج وخاصّة في أقاص بلدائه فائد يوجد فيهم من الإلائم والمؤرمة وتورّد لله المعارة والعورال المورة المعارة والأنعام ويكون ذلك بحسب تباعدهم عي الواسطة العينهم و فعلس أنوفهم وسعّة مناخرهم و تربدُّل شفاههم و تصوّرها بعور أعينهم وقريهم من العنطقة هالمحترقة واستبلاء الوارة المفوطة على أهويتهم وقريهم من العنطقة المعترقة واستبلاء الوارة المفوطة على أهويتهم والحرارة أقوى أسباب الجذب فلهذا تُحذِبهم الى فوق حتى تطول قاماتهم ويكون ولك الحرارة أقوى السباب الجذب فلهذا تُحذِبهم الى فوق حتى تطول قاماتهم ويوجدون ابدًا فرَحين لاعبين ضاحكين

وهم في الجلة ضِرِّ الأنراك لِلْنُ التَرك بعدوا عن الإعتدال لفرط البودة عندهم وطباع البرد الجع والتكثيف وجع الأجزاء وهذا في أقاص بلادهم خصوصًا في بلاد ياجوج فلدلك تقضّر قاماتهم و تصغر أعينهم و تضيف مناخرهم و أفواههم و تنقبض أرواحهم حتى يقل فرحهم و تنعصر الحرارة في بواطنهم لتكاثف المسام بالبرد و تسخّن لذلك مِعَدهم فيتقوى هضهم بواطنهم ليكر لحمهم و يشتر فضهم بخلاف الجيشة

ريجوروسير عهم ويسد عبهم المسائر و المنهم و أفواهم و سائر عنا فذهم و الفواهم و سائر منا فذهم و يسؤ هضم المغذاء ولا تغتذى أبدانهم الله بالغليظ من الطعام للأنّ الطعام اللطيف لا يمكن في معدهم ريثما ينهضم بل يتحلّل سريعًا لتفتّح منا فذهم و سعة مسامّهم ولا تَكثّر لحومهم و شحومهم للن الحرارة تنبيم و تُجقّف أجسامهم و تطول قاما تهم لجذب الحرارة

كثيرة و قرى وبيت قعاب و هذه الدينة مى حدود الراى الكبير و فيها بحياة و أموال كنيرة بعث إلى الله المورة) و هي إيضًا من حدود الراى الكبير و فيها بيوت أصنام كثيرة العدد ولها علات كتيرة تبلغ كل واحدة مانة الف درهم [و] اقل والتر و لهم بيوت من أجرته تبلغ كل واحدة مانة الف درهم [و] اقل والتر و لهم بيوت من أجرتها دانق و التر أجرته للعنم فهنه تزيد عليه وعلماء هذه الدينة البراهمة [393] و مدينة اخرى يقال لها براهون () الموق عظيم في السنة اربعة ايم يجتبع اليه الناس من جبع النواهي وفيها سبحائة بيت الله المنام و لها علائ و قد رُنّب لها بيوت تعاب في كل بيت عشراً و اثنتا للأصنام و لها علائ و قد رُنّب لها بيوت تعاب في كل بيت الصنم شيئًا للأصنام و لها علائ و قد رُنّب لها بيوت تعاب في كل بيت الصنم شيئًا من مائة و الراى عنده مثل الخليفة عندنا أو السلطان الأعظم وهو إذا من مائة و الراى عنده مثل الخليفة عندنا أو السلطان الأعظم وهو إذا مركب ركب معه من العضاء مائة كل و احد منهم صاحب عشرة آلاف فارس وهذا الراى يعتقد أنّ الأرض كلها مملئة له ولا يجسر احد أن يقول بين يكيه ان في الدنيا ملكا مطاعًا غيره يقول بين يكيه ان في الدنيا ملكا مطاعًا غيره

## الله المناكث عَشَّر في المايشة

الحبشة جنس وتحته أنواع كالنوبة و الزنج و غبرها وأراصيم متسعة الارجاء محتدة الأطراف سنهى المرافها الى منقطع العمارة و انعدام الحرث والنسل و لما بعدت ديارهم عن الاعتدال اختلفت الفي الماء 
يُطلقه ويقول إنه لا يصلح المُلك بعد ذلك و مَن دخل بلاده و أهدى اليه شيئًا كافاه باضعاف ذلك لِأنّه يُعطى للواحد مانةً (6) و اصل العُبَّاد في الهند من قِمار ويقال إنَّ فيها مائة الف عابد وهم الرماديّة (؟) أصاب نسبيم وقال حَلستُ الى واحد منهم فتنعَّى عنى قليلاً للأنهم لا يقربون [من] النشاكين و يقولون انكم ادناش لا تكم الكون لحم المناسبة المرابق ال البقر ورأيت يومًا بعضهم و قد جآه رَجلُ من عبّادهم الكبارفيعل يتكلّم الربندية بكلام فهونتُه كان تفسيره يا من ليسِ [388] كمِنله شي فصِيتُ و فُلْتُ أَتَعُوفُ ما تقولُ؟ وقال والجباه! وأنتم تعرفون ما قال؟ فُلْتُ نَعُم إِذَا كُنتم تعلمون الأصنام من دونه؟ وقال الله تعبدون الأصنام من دونه؟ فقال انّه قبلتُنا كما انّ قبلتُكم جارةً مبنيةُ منضّدةً فانتم تعبدونها! (62) ولِلكَ قِمار حبلُ يكون فيه العود وهولا؛ العُبّاد يكونون فيه وهو جبل طُويل عريض ولكك قِهار قضاة عِمَّة يقضون بين الناس فُلُو ورد ولذ الملك اليهم في خصومة أجلسوه بحنب خصمه وحكموا عليه عا يجب فى دينهم غير مانليئ عن المق بشئ البُتّة وملكة مار ليست بكبيرة كسائر صالك الهد الله ان ملكه عظيم القدر مظفّر والفيلة عده كثيرة و وعطيته للعرب انياب الفيلة

به النواب و لا يُبرُهُنَ من موضعه الليل و النهار (65) و تلى هذه المدينة مدينة يقال لها جالهندر و فيها عضم له غلّات فيه الله مدينة مدينة عقال لها جالهندر و فيها عضم له غلّات (65)

53 فهدا ما عُرِف مِن سواحل بحر الأفباب وسكَّانها عُم يتلوها للاد الزائج والملك الكبير بالرابع يقال له الهراج و نفسيره ملك الملوك و بلاده حرائر ولا نصرف ملك المركبيرًا منه ولا أقوى عُدّة وحيشًا ولا الرُّ دَخْلاً و يقال إِنَّهُ يَدْخُلُ لَهُ كُلِّ يُومٍ مَن هَارِ الْدُيُوكِ خَسُونَ مُنَا وهِ الرَّ ذَلِكَ يَكْثُرُ فِي بِلادِهِ وَكُلَّ دِيكٍ غَلْبٍ يَكُونَ فَخُذُهِ للسلطانِ ذِهِ بَا لِأَنَّ ذَلِكَ يَكْثُرُ فِي بِلادِهِ وَكُلَّ دِيكٍ غَلْبٍ يَكُونَ فَخُذُهِ للسلطانِ فيفتدي صاحبُه دلك منه بدينار [او] أقل أو النر ويفال ان دخله يبلع كلُّ يومٍ مائتي مَنَا(١) ذهبًا ولُه جزارُ كثيرة ومنها جَرِيرة يقال لها برطابل [383] و اهر البحر مقولون ان الدجِّالَ فيها و أهل هذه العزيرة حِسَانَ وُجُوههم كالهُانِ المَطرَّقَة في يَقتلونَ شَعورُهم كأَذنابُ دُواتِ الْبِرِيدِ ويُسمَّعُ في الْجَزِيرة أَصُوابُ المعارف بالليل وبرُونَ وُقُود النَّار ويسمعون أصُّوات الناس واُهَا الهراج يَتُ الفون بالنار فَاذَا تُخاصُمُ اثنانِ عَند السَلطان يأخذون حَديدةُ قدرُ رطل و مخور به النار حتى يُنطاير منها الشرر ثم تُؤخَذ افراق من شير عنده عدد السعاق يعدون عدد افراق من شير عنده يشبه الغار فيوضع على لف الهدى عليه منها تسع ورقات م تؤخذ الحديدة المخهاة بالكلبتين و توضع على تلك الأوراق في الكفّ فيمضى بها سبع مرّات ذاها وجائيًا في مقدار مائة خطوة فإن احترق الأوراث م وُكُونُهُ حِيمًا لِرَّمُهُ الذنبُ فإن كان يوجب القتل قُبَل وإن كان الذنبُ يوجب الخرمُ فَإِن كان موسرًا يُعرم المال وإن كَان مُعدمًا يصير عبدًا للسلطان يبيعه كيف شاء

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وى أحكام الهدائ مى ذبح بقرة يُقتُلُ بها القندهار فاذا وحديث بعض مى دُخل بلاد الهند قال حَصَلْتُ بالقندهار فاذا ملكم حبّار شديد العقوبة شديد العيرة ومَى شرب النهر من قوّادة وحيشه فعقوبته أنْ تُحمى مائة حلقة مى حديد بالناريم توضع على يُديه فريما هلك فيه ومن عقوبته قطع اليدين و الرجلين و الأنف و الأذنين و الشفتين و اذا ظفر بواحد ممّن يُقاتِله يُقطع اذنيه و شفتيه ممّ و الشفتين و اذا ظفر بواحد ممّن يُقاتِله يُقطع اذنيه و شفتيه ممّ السطومة عمر منه من الهلومة عمر المناوية والمناوية المناوية والمناوية المناوية والمناوية وال

من الناس والدوات والسباع والطيور ولا يُمنّع منه أحدٌ و يقولون أنّ ذَلك صدقتُه في كُلّ يوم

وَيَكُونَ ايضا أَنَّ بُوَادِي الْمُنْبِ وَ بَنْ صَمْ آخُر قَدِم البناء وانَّ الْمُنَادِ مِنْم فَيأْتُون و الْمَا تَقْصِدُهُ الْمُنَّادِ مِنْم فَيأْتُون و الْمَا تَقْصِدُهُ الْمُنَّادِ مِنْم فَيأْتُون و هم عراة مهازيل قد عارت أعينهم و قهلت جلودهم مى كترة الرياضة فيطرحون أنفسهم [376] بين يُديه و في ذلك الموضع نسور ضارية تعودت أكل حيف الناس ومنهم مى يُتُماوُتُ هناك حسبة ما فتأتى النسور و تقلعُ أعينهم اولاً وهم يصرون على ذلك تم يقلعون اللغمُ اوّلاً فاوّلًا حَثَّى اللَّي على جملته وربّما بَقَرَت بطوزَهم و الكل أمَعاءهم وهم يَرُون ذلك تقرُّبًا

وورا هذه السلكة ملك يقال له الطرسول واهل ملكته كثيرً و مدائنه كنيرة وهم بيض وكهم شعورً طويلة يُسْدِلونها وله خيل كثيرة و ودائم واله خيل كثيرة ودوائم وملكة وملكة يقال له المانك تتّصِل ملكته بالحيارة وعندهم مسك كثيرً ووراءه ملك يقال له المانك تتّصِل ملكتُه ببلاد الصبي ويقال إنّ هذه الملوكَ الثلثة الطرسول والموسد ومانك (١) يقاتلون الصين ولا 'يُقاوِمونهم لِلَاجْ مِلِكُ الصَينَ ٱلتَرُ جُنَدًا و أَقوى سلطانًا واوائل بلاد هذه المالك وأواخرها متَّصِلةً ببلاد الصين وملوك الهند كلهم يلبسون الخلى والجواهر والقلائد والأسورة والوشاحين

والوساحين و من ملكة دهم بلد يقال له اورفشين على ساحل البحروملاتها كانت في القديم امرأة يقال لها رانيه و مملكتها وبيئة واكثر من دُخَلها من الهنود مات و فيها للجار ربط كثير وكانت ملكتها مكارة يعجز من قتالها دهم مع كثرة جيشه و شدة شوكته و كانت تحارب بنفسها وهي عظيمة الجنة لم يُرُ أحد في عظمها راسم Ms عسنة Ms عاليخ Ms

البعر فيها الد والجزر من الماء العذب

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(54) و تليه بعد ذلك فرقة يقال لها بنو المنبه ويزعون انهم ولدُسام بي أَوَّى وهم ملوك الهندُ ويُخطّبونُ لإمامُ المسلمينَ و بَلادهم لله المنصُّورة و كُخْلُ هَلُولًا الملُّوكِ مَن مأل الصنم بالملَّتان لدخلُّ عِظيمٌ و أمواله في أيدى بنى المنبّة وهم يستظهرون بنلك الأموال و يُتُعَلَّبُون [373] على ملوك الهند وهذا الصنم فيما حَلَى طوله عشرون دراعًا و اكثرُ وهو على صورة رجل و فوقه سقفُ عظيمٌ والهند يزعمون أن هذا الصنم نزل من السماء و أمُرنا بعبادته و إنّ السقف بني منذ الفي سنة وله سَدُنة يقومون عليه والهند كُلَّم يُرُون الْجُ اليه و عِجْوَن الله مي مسيرة سنة او سنتين فيُحلقون رؤسهم عنده ويطوفون سبعًا عَلَى اليسَارِ و يَتَمَرَّعُونَ بِينَ يُدُيهُ ۖ و يَتَصَرَّعُونَ و يَخْصُونَ و النظيفة و يُتَطيّبُونَ اذا صاروا الى الصّنم وإذا دخل اليه الداخل جُثاعلى ويتضرّع ليما ويبكى ويتضرّع و للصم مطبخ يُطبُح فيه كلّ يوم إنواع من الطبيح ويُطبّ تم تُبسُطّ سى يديه ورقة موزروهي عريضةً عدّا ويضمون عليها الأطعمة مقدار تامخ الرجل فيُطُونون حول بيت الصّم بالصنوع والطبول و المرامير وربّما دارت حوله مائة جارية ويُقف عند الطعام واحدة من السدنة و يُروَّح بورف موز كانته يُبرَّد الطُمام و يُغلِف بالبالبت نم ينادى ويقول قد اكل فإنه لا يأكل بيده نم يفتح الباب و يقول قد تصرِّق به ولم يُنقُص منه شئٌّ مَ يَطْعُمُ منه كلٌّ من حضر

(49) ثم ملك يقال له الجرم وفي ملكنه عدل وأمن حتى لوظرك النهب في وسط الطريف لا يحسر أحد أن يأخذه و بلاده واسعة و التجار من بلاد العرب يقصدونهم في التجارات و يعاملونهم ويُروى عنهم [368] خسن العاملة والإحسان والمُبَرّة ومعاملاته بقطع الذهب والدراهم التي يقال لها الطاطرية عليها صورة الملك وزن كل درهم متقال وإذا تنجّزت تجارتهم بعث الملك معهم من يحفظ متاعهم ويُخرِجُهُ من بلاده و[ليس] بعده ملك آخر أوسع حالاً منه و أصدف عدلًا وهو المناللة الم يقولُ للتجّارُ والسابلُة آخْرُخُوا حيث سُنتم فإنْ حدث حادثُ وخسرتُمُ سَيًّا فَخَدُوا مَنَّى وانا ضامنَ لَكُم وله حيشٌ كثيرٌ و فِيلة كثيرةٌ وهُو

يقاتل بلهرا وغيره من الملوك و بعده ملك يقال له دهم وله جيش عظيم حرّار تزيد عدّتهم على تلثمانة الغي ولا يحرُج إلّا في الشتاء لئلا تقضى المياه عي حاجتهم لأنهم يستنزفون الأودية وفي بلادهم القطى الجيّد الذي لا يكون في غيرها مثله و منه يُتخذ الهناديل التي يقال لها "شاره شاهي" وغيرها من.

الثياب التي اذا أدرجت تسع حلقة الخام و بعده ملك يقال له قامرون و مملكته تتّصل سلاد الصير وهو ملك قليل الجيش وفي بلاده أراضي ينبّت فيها الذهب قطعًا مثل

أَلُفَّ الانسان و ذهبهم أجود من ذهب الصين وهلولا الملوك كلهم مخرَّمُو الاذان وهلولا الملوك كلهم مخرَّمُو الاذان ولما سوقُ نحوَمِن فرسخ و فيها يكون الكركدن والبقرالمسى فَوْغَاوْ و بلاده متّصلة بساحل بحد الأفياب وهو بحرَّ خبيثٌ وعلى سواحله و بلاده متّصلة بساحل بحد الأفياب وهو بحرَّ خبيثٌ وعلى سواحله مَدَائِي كَثِيرةً واسعةً ويتعاملُون فيها بالدَّهَبُ وَالوَّدُعِ الَّا أَنَّ الوَّدْعَ عندهم أَرْوَجُ مَى الذهب ويستونه الكمنه (؟) و فيها أنهاز تنصب في صحومو ١٨٠٠ له الحرر ١٨٠٠ به

ومنهم مرفة يُهمون على وُجوههم في البراري حتى موتوا و منهم من برمی نفسه می حبل شاهق عندهم و قد نصب تحت الجبل شجرةً من العديد لها شُعَبَ وُ شجونَ محدّده فيطرح نفسه عليها

من آلجبل َحتَّى ينفطعَ وَطَعَّا 4) ولهم مقالات كثيرة في النُدَيَّة والبُوذُ سِفيَّة(!) بَهِذُون بها و

الترهم يُعتقدون التناسخ 44 والترُ ملوكهم يُرُون الزناء مباحًا الله ملِكُ قِمار فانّه يُحرِم الزناء وشُرب الخبر و نُعامَّب عليهما بالقتل وليس احدُ مَن ملوكهم يُطُنِّب في شوب الشراب الأملِكِ سرنديب فانه يُدمِن السّرب ويُحمّل البه السّرابِ من بلادالعوب ه (45) ووراءه ملك وتيلام ويقال له فأندين التم يليم ملك يقال له العارمطي () مم يليه ملك يقال له الصلمان، وهو أعظم من الذين

ذُكُرُ نَاهُمَا وَالنُّرُجِيشًا وَجِيشُه يَبْلِغُ صِلْعًا عَظِيمًا إِلَّا أَنَّ فِيْلَيُّهُ قَلْيُلَّةً غيرانَ الرمندُ يقولون انّ فيلةُ الصيامان أجرا ُ على القتال وأقوى من جميع الفيلة ويقالَ آنَ عنده من الفيلة ما بِبُرِيد سَمَّكُهُ عَلَى عَشَرة أَدْرِعَ وَقِيلِ أَنَّ فِيلَتُهِ لَا تَرِيدِ عَلَى فِسِمَةَ أَدْرُعُ اللَّا أَنَّ دُونَهُ لِلأَدُّا

يقال لها الأغباب وملكم كانت امرأة في القديم ولها مَن الفيلة ما يزيد سكه على عشرة أذرع الى احد عشر ذراعًا

(46) و بعدهم ملك يقال له بُلهُوا له في بلاديقال لها الله كم وهي مملكة واسعة كثيرة الرجال و من حوله من الملوك ينقادون له و في هذه المملكة ملوك فينهم ملك يقال له الطاقي الموهو قليل المملكة إلا انه كثير المال عامر البلاد و اهل مملكته سُمرة وبيظ و ونهم الله المالة الله المدالة المدالة الله المدالة الله المدالة الله المدالة جمال مستفيض و رقيق للدهم فيهم جمال لا بشركهم ميه فيرهم الدي هر (8) و بعده ملك يقال له بحابة و و هو شريف فيهم و بلهرا الدي هر الملك الكبير يُتُزوِّج مهم ولا بتروِّج من غيرهم و في غياصهم الصندل الأَثْرُ يقال له عامه العالم ، ١٨ ع ه ، لَهُوْ (٤) له الصلمان ، ١٨ ع ما دس ، ١٨ ع رسلا ، ١٨ ه

و يتخذون له صمًا على عَجُل يجرّهُ اربعة [بُطوط] و بيدالصهجوفرُّ وهم يصومون النصف من كلَّ شهر ولا يُفطرون حتَّى يرُوا الهلال و يصعدون السطوح عندالهلال و يُدخّنون الدُّخَى و بِطروا البه على وجهِ حسر، ثمّ ذلوا وأفطروا ولعبوا ورقصوا مين بدَى الصنم

وجه حسي ثم نزلوا وأفطروا ولعبوا ورقصوا بين بدى الصَمَّ يجرِّهُ اربِعة (37) و منهم قوم يعبدون السمس و قد اتخذوا لها صَمَّا يجرِّهُ اربِعة افواس و بيد الصمّ حوهر على لون النار و يزعون انّ السمس مَلَكُ من الدلائكة ويتقرَّرون البها بالسجود والطواف والدُّعَن و أنواع الهزاهر وله ضياعً وعلّات ولهم فيه ضروب من التهاويل والفش (38) و منهم البها مربعية (؟) و من سنتهم انّ الرجل منهم يدخل الهقابر ويحل من الدوتي أفظعهم حالاً لِأنهم لا يدفنون موتاهم ثم يدخل البلد ويوبِّخ الناس وينادى و يقول أيها العُصاة الدنبون الذين السره الحواس واستصيرهم الطباع حتى مُنى تنكحون أمها تكم و تقتلون آباءكم و مِنل واستصيرهم الطباع حتى مُنى تنكحون أمها تكم و تقتلون آباءكم و مِنل هذا الضرب من الكلام

وصرم الحبرا سرا حمريّة ألم يعنى الذس يلبسون ورق الأشعار وهم فرقة يسكنون الغياض ويلبسون ورق شجر يقال له حداً و اورا تُه عراضً كالتوب الواسع ولا يخالطون الناس و يُبرُزؤن للرياح والمطرو يقولون إنّا نعتاض بهذا ريح الجنّة والفوز فيها بالعور العين وملابس الدية

(4) و منهم الامسركوريّة يعنى الهنشبّهون الوحش يحسون على الربعة ويأكلون الحشائش بأفواهم لا يُحلِقون رؤسم ولا يستعملون حيلة في دفع صرّ كإنّهم الوحش وله سوى ذلك كُلُوتُ ومذاهبُ شنيعة (1) و منهم فرقة يحرقون أنفسهم بالنيران ومنهم فرقة يُخرقون انفسهم بالنيران ومنهم فرقة يُخرقون انفسهم في الماء ومنهم فرقة يمتنعون من الطعام حتى يموتوا فربّما ماتوا في عشرين ومنا وربّما بقوا الى تلثين يومًا [363] ماتوا في عشرين ومنه له \* الأميرُكوريّة ع \* جيرُ تا \* الحيرانبُرَادُهريّة ه المسرين ١٨٤ الحيرانبُرَادُهريّة ع \* جيرُ تا \* الحيرانبُرَادُهريّة ع

من الأسلمة وغيرها فاذا دخلت الشمس الميزان يتعدون عرسًا وعيدًا عظيما بين بدئ الصَّم ويجمعون من النياب وافعان الشجر ما تدروا عليه وكذلك انواع الطيب ويأنون بالقرابين من الغم والبقروالجواميس ويطرحون لها العلوفة فاذا طامتت رؤسها ضربوا أعناقها بالسبوف بين يدى الصنم و يقتلون من أصابوا بالفلبة ف قرانًا له حتى ان الناس يتحرّزون من الغلبة فى تلك الليّام وامّا ملوكهم فانّهم بأخذون رجلًا أشقر أزرق و ينصبون البين يدى الصنم خنبرًا أو شيئًا مِثلُه و يأمرون بالسيرد للصنم على الفنير و قد شُدّ كتافًا فاذا وصل جبهته و السيرد الصنم على الفنير و قد شُدّ كتافًا فاذا وصل جبهته الى الخنج ضربوا على وأسم ضربة يدخل العنص بها في وأسم حتى يُصِلُ الى دمافه ويعنفدون انهم ينالون به تواب الدنيا و الآخرة عم يعتزفون و بهم سرود عظيمً ولهؤ ولعبُ وأكلُ و شربُ ﴿ وَهذه مَلَمُ مُدْمُومَةً عند جيء الهند

ومنه الجلبهكتية يعنى عُبّاد الها، وهم يرمون ان مع الها، ملكًا وانه اصل كل نُشُور وبه بوام الحيوة وبه بكون البقاء والعارة و الولادة والطهارة ويدخل الرجل فيه إلى وسطه ويعوم فيه ساعتين او أكثر وبيده انواع الرياحيي تم نقطعها صفارًا ويرمى القطعة بعد القطيعةً في الماء وهو يُستّح و يقوأ فإذا أراد الأنصراف اخذمي الماء فقطره على رأسه وعلى ما ظهر من بُدَنه تم يسجد كه و ينصرف 35 ومنهم الأكنهوطريّة وهم عبدة النيران و يحفرون لها أخدودًا مرِبِّماً ويجتمعون عَلَيها ويطوفون حَوْلَها ويطرحونَ فيها من الأطعية والكسوة والطيب والنعب والغضة والجواهر ما وجدوا ولهم ملوكة وعظماء ويقولون أنّ النارُ اشرفُ العناصر الأربعة والرمْها حوهزًا وَ يتلبون [35] مَن أُحرَفُ نَفسَهُ بالنار ويقولون إنَّه نَجس النار ومنهم فرقة يصدون القهرو يُقوُلون انَّهُ مُلَكَ مَن الْمَلائلَةُ يقطعه على عنصب الله المالية على العيلة على العيلة ومنهم الهادرية (؟) و من سنتهم تطويل الشعور وإرسالهامن هيع حوانب الرأس بالسواء و ينظرون من تحت شعورهم عليهم أقبية أخرجوا أيديهم من المامها فهي معلقة بين أيديهم وخلفهم و عروا صدورهم و ظهورهم و شدوا أوساطهم بالسلاسل مع كل رجل منهم رجل بيده تلك السلسلة بحفظه ان يهيم رلما قد أناه من القوة والأبد لشدة دخوله في الدين لا يشربون الخرويجون الى جبل لهم يقال له عورعر ويُتُوعون على بها جرز (ا) و يمدعون جون هم الذي اتخذ الارض من جلابها درز و الجون من جلابها درز و النبات من شعره و المناء من دمه والشير و النبات من شعره و يرعمون الم يرعمون الم الم الم يرعمون الم كانوا ثلثة إخوة بها درر وجون و ومرش

٥ (3) ومنه المهاكالبكتيّه المهاكالبكتيّه المهاكالبكتيّه المهاكالبكتيّه المهاكالبكتيّه المهاكالبكتيّه المهاكالبكتيّه المعادة لعظم قدره ولهذا الصنم أربع أيدى ولونه أسمانجون كثير الشعر كاشر الناب كاشف البطى على ظهره جلدٌ فبل يقطر منه

الدم وفي أذنيه تُعبانان مع ترهات أخر ومنهم الديويا تربّه ومن سُنّتهم أن يتخدوا صمًا بحلونه على عجل ومنهم الديويا تربّه ومن سُنّتهم أن يتخدوا صمًا بحلونه على الناس معهم الديويا تربّه وبعد ويحرّون العبلة ويطوفون به على الناس معهم المعازف و ضروب اللعب و لا تنقى يومئذ زانية في البلاد الا حضرت مع اكثرهي رُجّالة بين يديهي وهي على الفيلة والخيل عليهي الخيلي النفيس الكثير ملا يزالون يطوفون به و ذلك في فصل عليهي الخيلي النفيس الكثير ملا يزالون يطوفون به و ذلك في فصل الربيع تم يردّون الى موضعه و لهذا الصنم خزائي فيها صُورٌ وُجوه الناس مين مضى من الملوك ورؤساء البلد واصحاب الملك وصُورُ الدوات و الطير والسباع فيكبشم [35] الناس في ذلك اليوم وهو عيدٌ لهم فإذا انقضى العبد رُدّ ذلك كلّه الى خزائنه

ومنهم البهكفتيّة وص سنّنهم أن يتّخذوا صما على صوره امرأة على أن يتخذوا صما على صوره امرأة على أيديها سيف مسلول واشياء أخُر الديمانية ؟ له الديمانية التيمانية ؟ له الديمانية الديمانية الديمانية ؟ له الديمانية ؟ له الديمانية ال

الى أُحدِ لا يُرْضُونَه من غيرهم مذلك شريعة لهم في عقولهم ولا حاجة بالله الى عبادة الناس وزعوا ان الوصول الى الجنة باستعمال العقول وصخالفة طبيعة الأبدان ومن هلولاء من قال انه لايجزيه ذلك حتى يعذَّبُ حسده و يشغل طبيعتُه بانواع العذاب التي لا يكون معه فراغ للطفيان ولا تشوّف الى مُجون<sup>4</sup>

و منهم من يزمم الله إصابة الحقّ والرجوم على حقيقة الأمر في إلا الله الأبدان والنجاة منها إذ كانت الأنفس تكتسب كل إثم وهي

التي تُزيِّن كل قبيعةً و تُثبيط عي كل كريمةٍ

النب والحشيش [و] يأكلون المُرو الحشيش عامّة دهرهم معيّضة

أُعيْنُهُم مَجَيلَةُ فَكَرُهُمَ وَالْمُعَنَّدُونَ الْحَدِيدِيحُلِقُونَ رؤسهم ولحاهم لايسترون ومنهم النكربنتية عنى المصفَّدُون الحديد يُحلِقون رؤسهم ولحاهم لايسترون مى أبدانهم الله وسيمة يعلى المصفدون باعديد عبوى روسهم وعام مسيروس مى أبدانهم الا النورة و يصفّدون أوساطهم الى صدورهم بالحديد لأنْ لا تنشق بطونهم مى كثرة العلم وليس يعلمون أحدُ ولا يكلّمون حتى يدخُلُ فى دينهم وي و منهم اهل ملّة الكنكاياتريّة عم متفرّقون فى جميع بلاد الهند مى سنّتهم إذا أذنب رجل ذنبًا او عقّ والدًّا او اجترح سيّئة شخص مى حيث كان من أفاصى الهند وأدناها حتى يأتى نهر لنك و يضتسل فيه

الألوان عبر مركبة ولا مخيط بمضهم على بعض الا عنداوسالهم محرّم عليهم الذّائع والنكاح وجع الأموال ومعاشّهم مى الصدقة وهم مرافعة وهم

رو جيب برى ومنهم الكابالية رحوا التارسولهم مكك مي الملائكة يقال له شب أناهم في صورة انسان يتمسّع بالرماد على رأسه قلنسوة مي ليود محرطولها ثلثة أشبار مغيط عليها صفائح مي قعف انسان قد تقلد و انتطف و تسوّر و تخافل مي أعظم الناس باحدى يديه قعف انسان و بالأخرى طبل مثل المهادوية و أمرهم أن يتخذوا على مثال دكر الانسان شنئا مدورًا طهله دراعاد و قط مذاه ما مدورًا على مثال دكر الانسان شنئا مدورًا طهله دراعاد و قط مداه ما مدورًا على مثال دكر الانسان مى ذكرهم تقرُّا اليه ومنهم من يُثقُبُ جسدُهُ ثُقبًا ويعلُّف منها حكف الخان قد رُكِّب

بعض السُلَف على بعض كأنَّ عليه البرع ومنهم الرامانية وكان رامان ملكا حبّارًا فتعدّى طوره و ادّعى الرسالة و امر تعومه بعبادته و زعم انّ ذلك يُؤدّرهم الى رضاء الخالف و تَرهاتَ [343] كثيرة

الحالف و مرهات المحمد البيرة و مرهات المحالف لقبوله و منهم الراونية ذكروا انهم استدلوا براون على الحالف لقبوله توبته والحربة التي أعطاه فصيروه نبيهم والم النبي أثبتوا المحالف و الثواب والمحقاب و[ما] أثبتوا الرسالة فرعموا ان الله قد دعا المحلف الى عبادته و لم يُحرِجهم الى أحد بما حَعَل في قلوبهم من حُب الحير و نضض الشر أن لا ياتوا المحاسبة التير و نضض الشر أن لا ياتوا

فامّا المِلل والأهواء الَّتي في هذه الأجناس فهم تسع وتسعون فرقة بجعراً أننان وأربصون مذهبًا فنهم من يُتبتُ السلام (ويعترف بالأنبياء ومنهم مَى يُتَسِ العالق ويعفى الرئسل والأنبياء ومنهم من ينفي الخالف والرسل ومنهم من ينفي الكلّ ويُتبُ التواب والعقاب وهم الشمنية و (18) و منهم من قال إن التواب و المعقاب التناسخ في السعادة والشقاوة والسقاوة والبنة و النارعلى قدر العمل بلا دوام

19 فيتن أثبت الخالف البراهة وعوا أن رسول الله اليهم مكلكم الملائكة يقال له باسديو أناهم في صورة البسر مرسالة من فيركتاب له أربع أيد في إحدى يديه سيف مسلول وفي الثانية سكة الفدان وفي الثانية سلاج يقالُ له شَكْرُة ه على هيئة حلَّقةٍ كَسرةٍ حادَّة الطرف وفي البد إلرا بعة وُهُفُّ وهُو على العَنقاء وله أننا عَشَّر رأسًا كُلُّ رأسٍ يُسْبِه رأس مَوانٍ و لهم في هذه الويلُ يطول تفسيره و قالوا إنَّه أَمَرُهُم أَنْ يَتَّخذُوا على " مثاله صنهًا يعبدونه ويطوفون حُولَه كلّ يوم للشمرّاتِ بالمعازف و وْقُودِ الدَّحَى وِإِنْ يَصِيدُوا البُّقْرَ وَيُسْجِدُوا لَهَا حَيْثَ لَقُوهَا وَأَنْ

لا يجوزوا نهركنك ولادس لمن حاوره من البراهية ومنهم المرادوية زعوا ان رُسولُ الله البهم مُلكُ من الملائكة يقال

له مهادوية(١) أناهم في صورة البشر وهو راكب الثور على رأسه إكليل مكلِّلُ معظام المُوتى متقلَّد بقلادة منها بأحدى بديد [336] عف انسان وِ الْأُخْرِي مِزْرَافٌ ذَوْتُلْت شُعَبٍ [وُ] يُسْتَظُلُ مِظْلُل مِي دَنْبِ الطَّاؤُوسُ أمرهم بعبادة الله وأن يتخدوا على مثاله صفا يعتدونه وهوسيلم الى الخالف ولا يُعافوا من شئ لِانّ الاسباء كلّها من صنع الخالف

رى حسر المعلم الناس ويتخذوا منها أكاليل و [أن] يمسعوا وجوهم و أجسادهم الرماد و أن بستروا من أوساطهم الى أقدامهم بخرف عرضها اصبعان على طول ما بين الكعب الى اوساطهم على صروب من عرضها اصبعان على طول ما بين الكعب الى اوساطهم على صروب من عرضها المبعان على طول ما بين الكعب الى اوساطهم على صروب من عرضها المبعان على طول ما بين الكعب الى اوساطهم على صروب من عرضها المبعان على طول ما بين الكعب الى اوساطهم على صروب من المبعان على المبعان المبعان على المبعان على المبعان على المبعان على المبعان الم

ولا يروّجونهم في ومنهم البيشيّة وفي جنسهم أصاب الصناعات والمهن لا يروّجهم احد حريّ ذكرنا ولا يُنروّج منهم ﴿ ومنهم السنداليّة وهم الحجاب اللحون واللهو و في نسائهم جالٌ وربّما افتَدَى بهنّ البراهمة حتى يُتركوا دينهم من اجلهن ولا بعسّهن العدد من تلك الأجناس (8) ومنهم الدنيتة عوم سُمْر اصاب لعب ومعازف وهم في طريق السندليّة ومنهم الدنية عوم سُمْر اصاب لعب ومعازف وهم في طريق السندليّة من الله ما المنابدة المنابلة من الله من عد الناس والسدلية لا بختلطون به ولابرة جوزه ولا يتزوّجون منهم ﴿ وَامَّا آَدَابِهُم وَعَلُومُهُم فَهِنَهَا الرُقَى يَزْهُونَ أَنَّهُمْ يَدَرَكُونَ بَهَا مَا اُرادُوا اللهُ ويَخْرِجُونَهُ مَثَى شَقِى ويَلْقُونَهُ عَلَى غَيْرُهُ (١٠) ومنها الوهم والفكر لرفعوت أنهم بدركون بها العائب و يفعلون بها في النائب و بِعلَون و بعقدون و يصرّون و بنفون (١١) و منها عل النَّيرُ فيات وأحدُ الْعَيونَ واظهار التَّحَاييلَ التي يتخبّر فيها الأرب و يُبهَرَ عَقل اللبيب و صنهم السيما بندات الوهي الطِلْسَمات العجيبة التي يفعلونها ويُبدعونها ومنها ادّعاؤهم حبسُ البطر والبرد واقرارُمَى هناك به لهم حتى يقطى صاحب ذلك العلم في كلّ سنة شبئا معلومًا (2) ومنها علم الطب و دعواهم في الطب الأمورُ العيبةُ في حفظ الصّة و منع الشيب وزيادة في القوة والنهن و ابراء الأدوآء المؤمنة المستنعة (13) ومنها علم العساب والهندسة والنجوم وحِدْقُهم فيها (14) ومنها علم اللحون واللهو و اتخاذ أنواع المزاهر وعلم الرقص الذي لا يبلغ مبلغهم فيه غيرهم (5) و منها علم الحروب و ضروب التعبيه و أنواع [33] الأسلحة والسيوف التي يُضرُب بها المُثَل في الجودة مع ضروب الطبول والنايات والبوقات الموضوعة على صوت الفيل والاسد والبير وغير ذلك من الآلات التي صوتُها يُفزَع علوب الرجال (6) وفي هذا الجنس قوم يُجاورون جبل الدار (؟) في شرقي الهند في بلاد يقال لها قامور في لهم حظ من الجال فوق ما لجيم الأمم \* المسماسات . 8 ما البنشيه . 8 م م

فى بعض كُنبُه وسمّاهن امازونسه ومعناه دوات نُدُى واحد لقطعهن الآخَرَ ولا يمنعهن عن قطع الأخر الاحاجتهن الى رضاع اولادِهن واستبقآء النسل واتما يقطعن الواحد لئلا يحبسهن عن رَفَى النشّاب على ظهور الخيل ومن النشّاب على ظهور الخيل وامّا الفرقة التي لهم ملوك وزعماء فهم قبائل كثيرة وهم الذين

### ألبابُ الثَّانِ عَشَد فِي الْهِٺُ د

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الهند أمّة عظيمة كثيرة الأجناس مفتنة الأنواع متباينة الآراء و الديانات وهم ساكنو الربع الجنوبي من الأرض المسكونة وبلادهم كثيرة ممتلة الأرجاء متقادفة الأطواف الى منتهى البحارة حيث ينقطع الحين والنسل وينعدم كون الحيوان و وجناسهم المشهورة سبعة وهم الشاكبيريّة وهم أشرفهم جنسًا يسجد لهم جميع الإجناس وهم لا يسجدون لأحدٍ وفيهم الناك (3 ومنهم البراهمة وفيهم الرياسة دون الملك وهم يسجدون للشمنيّة [ط 32] والشمنيّة لا يسجدون لهم ومن جنسهم من لا يشرب الخير والأنبذة والشمنيّة لا يسجدون لهم ومن جنسهم من لا يشرب الخير والأنبذة ويتزوّجون [منهم البراهمة ويتزوّجون [منهم] (5) ومنهم المشترية ويزوّجون منهم ويتزوّجون منهم ويتزوّجون منهم الكشترية ويزوّجون منهم الكشترية ويزوّجون منهم المشربة ويتزوّجون منهم الكشبرية ويتزوّجون منهم الكشبرية ويتزوّجون منهم الكشبرية المدارم ويليه بابراليرب وليه بابراليرب وليرب وليرب وليرب وليرب وليرب وليه بابراليرب وليرب ولير

النحيفة منفتحة الهنافذ واسعة المدخل فكذلك الأعضاء السينة تكون ضيقة المدخل فلهذه العلل لا يُخبَل كثيرًا وقال جالينوس إنّ قِلّة حبُل تكون من ائساب منها ضيف عنف الرّعم ومنها إنّهن [لا] كُلُهُ وَمَن كُلُ شهر كما ينبغي و منها انّ القوّة الجاذبة التي تكون في الرحم تكون ضعيفة بسبب البرد والرطوبة فيهم فلا تختطف المني بشرعة فينفسد النبي قبل وصوله الى مسقط المطافته و رطوبته وقال جالينوس في موضع آخر انّ نساء الترك لا يُحبُل كثيرا لفراغم و وقال جالينوس في موضع آخر انّ نساء الترك لا يُحبُل كثيرا لفراغم و وعتمن فامّا الإماء والولائد التي لهم فاكترة حركاتهن و العلهي تنتفض و معربه أرحامه في فيكبل أمدانهن و تحقّر الوظرة التي فيها و تحقّر المراحمة فيكبل المراحمة و المؤردة في الرحمة والمؤردة في المراحمة المراحمة والمؤردة فيها و تحقّر المراحمة في المراحمة المراحمة والمؤردة المراحمة التي فيها و تحقّر المراحمة في المراحمة المراحمة التي فيها و تحقّ بها أرحامه المراحمة 
المريط وببر الالحقى المقراط ال كثيرًا من الترك مُصَا ذَكُرُنا ما فيم يكونون كالخصيان لا يقدرون على النساء وهذا الذي ذكره قد يوجدو يُشاهد في سُكّان بعض بلادهم فامّا الذبي يسكنون البراري والصاري ويُشاهد شتاء و ميفًا فهم أشرُّ الناس بأسًا و أصرُهم على القتال والحوب وهم فرقتان فرقة لهم أمرًا، و ملوك يُظيمونهم و يصدُرون عن رأيهم و أمرُهم و فرقة لاطاعة عليهم لنبيرهم و لا يُملكهم أحد وهم أشد بأسًا و نجدة و بسالة و قد قال ابقراط التي من اهل آسيقه من لا طاعة عليهم و لا يُملكهم أحد و فرقة لا طاعة عليهم و الترك فإنهم احداد عملكون أنفسهم و لا يُملكهم فيرهم مثل اليونانيتين و الترك فإنهم احداد عملكون أنفسهم و لا يُملكهم أمد المناهم وهولائم و لا يُملكهم فيرهم فينتم لمون و يكذمون لأنفسهم لا لفيرهم وهولائم و الترك فارت الناس و لصرهم على معاربة و الشرد إقدامًا و صولة و قتالاً من سائر الناس و لصرهم على معاربة

مَى يُحَارِبِهِم يَأْخَذُونَ الْعَنَائِمُ لِأَنفَسَهُمَ بِالسَّوْآءِ وَقَالَ جَالِبُونَ الْعَنَائِمُ لِأَنفَسَهُمَ بِالسَّوْآءِ وَقَالَ جَالِينُوسِ انَّ نَسَاءُ هُولاءِ يُحَارِبْنُ مِثْلُ الرَّجَالُ وَانَّى يَقَطَّمُ وَ الْعَرْفُ لَكُمْ الْيُ الْمَلْعُ وَكَى تَحْفُ الْبَدَانِهِيّ وَ الْعَدْ الْمَنْ الْمَافِيقِ الْعَنْ الْمَنْ الْمَافِقُ لَكُمْ الْمَنْ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ الْمُنْ اللَّهُ الْمُنْ ُ الْمُنْ الْمُنْفُ

آشِيه Ms. آشِيه

ولابقراط ان في ارض اوروفي المحدِّ الترك يُشبه بعضه بعضا ولا يشبه بعضه بعضا ولا يشبه ون فيره وكذلك اهل مصر يشبه بعضه بعضا إلا أن اهل مصر يشبه بعضه بعضا إلا أن اهل مصر تشبه بعضه بعضا إلا أن اهل مصر تشبه بعضه بعضا الله أن اهل مصر تشبه بعضه بعضا الله أن اهل مصر تشبه نقط في البوودة وقال حالينوس ان الناس الذين تشغون سورماطة هم الصفار الأعيى الطوال الألحاظ قال ابقراط إن أغذية النوك وعاداتهم يشبه بعضا فلهذا صاروا اشباها لأنفسهم دون غيرهم من سائر الناس فإنه لا يشبهونهم لا في صورهم و لا في عاداتهم قال ولهذا من الحال صارت صورهم غليظة لحية الاثرى لهم مفاصل وأبدانهم لينتة وظبة كثبرة الهياه لينتة والمعادي والمحادن وان الترك فرّاغ ليس لهم أعلل شاقة يتشقلون بها والصاري [236] والمحادن وان الترك فرّاغ ليس لهم أعلل شاقة يتشقلون بها وانا قال لا يُرى لهم مفاصل يعنى ان مفاصلهم غائرة لا تُرى لكثرة الله لان البرك لذلك رطبة باردة

القرام المقراط و تكون بطونهم رُطِبةً جدًّا و تنفع انفراغات كثيرة وذلك التي بطونهم لا يُمكن ال تجفّ و تيبس في مثل هذه البلاد و مثل هذه الطبيعة والهواء قال و تكون ابدائهم دُسِمة جدًّا جُردًا اضطرارًا و قال ايضا ان هذه الطبيعة لا تكون كثيرة الولد لِأنّه لا تهيج شهوة الرجال الى النساء والمباضعة لحال رطوبة مزاجهم وللين البطى و بُرده و قال في موضع آخر ان نساؤهم انما تقل أولادهن للين بطونهن ورطوبتها للأن الارحام لا تستطيع أن تخطف المني و تحذبه و لأن ظهر النساء للكائي لهن في كل شهر لا يكون لهن على ما ينبغي و ذلك ان الكائي لهن في كل شهر لا يكون لهن على ما ينبغي و ذلك ان طمهرهن يكون قليلًا بعد زمي طويل لأن المؤاه الأرحام منهن منسدة بكترة الشعم و كما ان أبدأنهن كلها سمينة كذلك لا منالة تكون المعناق المؤولة كانت الاعضاء المهرولة معالة تكون العناق الرحام به سمينة و لما كانت الاعضاء المهرولة

اۇروى .Ms

رقيق كثيرً ممّا يغير بعضهم على بعض المعروبية الجزيرة الجزيرة المجروبية المج المنه أيّام في مِثلها و فيها مشاجرُ وغياضٌ وحواليها بحيرةٌ وهم كثيرو العدد ويرون المعاش والكسب في السيف وإذا مات منهم رجل له بناءً وِبنون دَفِعُوا ماله الى البنات وافردوا البنيي بالسبف ويقولون إنّ أَلِكُم كِان يكسِّب المال بالسيف فأقتدوا به واخلفوه فيه وكأن نُشُوُّهم على ذلك الي ان تنظروا في شهور سنة تلتمائة(؟) فِلمَّا دخلوا في النصرانية الفد الدين سيوفهم وانسد دونهم باب الكسب وعادَعليهم باب الكسب وعادَعليهم بالضرر والإفلاس وضافت المعيشة عليهم فرُغِبوا في الإسلام لِيُباح لهم الغرو والجهاد وينتعبشوا • [23a] بالعود الى بعض ما كانوا عليه فَوَجِّهُوا رُسُلًا الى صاحب خوارزم وهم اربعة تفرمي قرابين(ا) ملكهم فإن لهم ملك على ملكهم فإن لهم ملك على الماركما يُلفّب ملك الترك بخاقان و ملك بلخار بطلطوط فوردت رُسُلهم خوارزم و أدّوا الرسالة فشر به خوارزمشاه حيث رغبوا في الإسلام فأنفذ اليهم مي عَلّم سرائع الإسلام فأسلموا وهم أناس أقوياء استراء يسافرون رجالة الى المواضع النازمة للغزو ويسافرون ايضا في السفى في بحرالخُرْر ويعصبون المراكب ويسلبون الأموال ويسافرون الى بحرائزر ويقصبون المرالب و يسلبون الاموال و يسامرون الى قسطنطينية في بحر بنطش والسلاسل في خليجها ولقد سافروا مرة في بحرائخرر واستولوا على بُرْدُعَة زمنًا وبسالتهم ونجدتهم معروفة حتى ان واحدًا منهم بوازى عدّة من جبيع الأمم ولوكان لهم دوابة وكانوا فرسانًا للشتد بلاؤهم على الناس قد دُرُنا من أجناس الترك وأحوالهم ما اشتهر وما استفاض من غير استقصاء و تطويل لِلنَّ أجناسهم و أنواعهم و سِيرهم و رسومهم و عاداتهم النرُ من أن يُحكى استيفاءها بالذكر و الوصف

\* بىلطوار ؟ كا ينتعشون a Ms.

كنده و و في الاسم شعار لملكهم و هم اهل قباب يسيرون مع الكلاء و الخصب وحدث من بلادهم يتصل يمحر الروم و هناك زهران ينصبان في ذلك البحر أحدُهما البرُ من جيمون و مساكن الجعفرية بين هذين النهرين و اسم النّهرين روماً وأنِل و بلاد المعقية ذات مشاجرُ ولهم [ا 22] مزارع وهم يغلبون على من يليهم من الصقالية والروس و يُسبُون منهم ويحلون السبايا الى الروم فيبيعون هناك و المجنويّة رُوُاء و منظرٌ حسنَ وجنتُ فغام ولهم تُروَةُ وأموالُ ظاهرةً لَكْتُرة تجاراتهم (1) و امّا الصقالية فهم أمّةً كثيرة و بين بلادهم و بلاد البناكيّة مسيرة عَسْرة ايَّام فِي مفارة وأرضي غير مسلوكة فيها أشَجارٌ ملتقة وعِيون ماء وَهم نرُولَ في تلك المشاجر وكيس لهم كروم ولهم عسل كثيرً وهم يرعون الخنازير وهم يُحرقون الَهُوتِي لِلزَّمُ عَلَيْةَ الْنيران والنَّرُو رموعهم الدُّغن وشرابهم مى العسل و لهم ضروب من المزامير و لهم مزمار طوله ذراعان و غودهم مسطح عليه تمانيه أوتار وليس له البُّخة مزمار طوله ذراعان و غودهم مسطح عليه تمانيه أوتار وليس له البُّخة الآان ملاويه مستوية و ليس لهم سعة في المحيشة و سلامهم الآبان يسمى شوب المزارية و الرماح و تركسة حسنة و رئيسهم الاكبر يسمى شوب وله خليفة يقال له شرى (؟) والملك دوات و من ألبانها يكون طعامه و تسمى المدينة التي ينزلها خورات (؟) و بها لهم شوق في ما شرق المدينة التي ينزلها خورات (؟) و بها لهم شوق في كما شد التي المدينة التي ينزلها خورات (؟) في كلّ شرر ملثة إيام وعندهم يشتد البرد حتى ازم يحفرون أسرابًا عيقة ويُغُطّرونها بالخشب م يُسخِنونها ببخار الزبل والخطب و يقيمون فَيها شِتَوْرَم وفي السَّنَا يُغير السِّغُرِية عليهم ولهم \* سويت بُلك ؟ • \* دونا؟ ط كنده . A Me.

5

المعرب بلاد الصقالبة و هذه الأمم بنغ ون العناكية والعناكية تعزوهم وللبجناكية تُرُونُ و دوابٌ و غنمٌ وأناتُ و ذهبُ و فضّه و أسلحةً وأعاتُ و ذهبُ و فضّه و أسلحةً والعلامٌ وطرّاداتُ وبين البجناكية والحزر مسيرة عسرة (يّام في مفاوزُ ومشاءرُ وليس بينهم طريتُ مسلوكُ إنّا يُقطّعونه بالكواكب والعلامات و

(1) وامّا الخُزر فبلادهم عريضةً و يتّصِل أحدِ جناباتها جبلُ عظمٌ وهو المجبلُ الذي ينزل في أقصاه فرقتانِ من الأتراك[223] يقال لإحداهما طولاس وللأخرَى لوعوه ويمتدُّ هُذا ٱلْجِيلَ آلَى بلادِ تَفِلْيسَ ومِدِينُّهُم سارعس ولم مدينة أخرى يقال لها حديلع وهم يسكنون في هاتين المدينتين شتاءً ويخرُّمون الى الصحاري عند اقبال الربيع فيُصيَّفون فيها جميع الصيف ومِلَكُم، يُركب في عشرة اللف فارس إذا خرَج في وجه و من رسمهم اذا خرجوا في وجه أن يُحِلُ كل فارس منهم عشرين وُتِدًا من الطرفاء طول كل وتد ذراعان فاذا نزلوا في مُعنزلٍ غرز كل واحدٍ مِنهِم أُوْتَادُه فِي الْأَرْضِ بِحِيْالَه و تُسْنَدُ اليها البِّرُسُة ويُصَّيرِحُولَ المَّحَسَكُر

سور في اقل مي ساعة فلا يقدر احد على مبايتتهم، وبين الخرر 12 ومنهم برداس بلاد برداس مي بلاد الخرر و بينهم وبين الخرر مسيرة خسة عشر يومًا وهم في طاعة ملك الخرر ويخرج منهم عشرة الاف فارس وليس لهم رئيش يضبطهم و يجوز خاكمه عليهم و في كلّ محلّة لهم أرضً واسعة وفي كلّ محلّة لهم أرضً واسعة وفي كلّ محلّة لهم شيخ يتحاكمون اليه فيما يقع بينهم ولهم أرضً واسعة وهم في مشاجر وهم يخيرون على بلكاره وعلى الجنالية ولهم رُوارُ و منظرٌ وأجسام وإذا أدركت الجارية منهم تركت طاعة أبيها و اختارت لِنفسِهَا مَن أَراِذُت مِن الرجال الى انْ يَجِئُ لَهِا ۖ الى أَبِيهَا خاطَبُ فَيُزوِّجُهَا ان أراد ولهم خنازيرُ وبقرُ ولهم عَسَلُ كُثيرٌ واَلَثْرُ اموالهم الدُلْفُ وهم صِنفانِ صنفَ يُحرقون السُوتِي و صنفَ يُدفِنون وهم في أرضٍسُهلةٍ

بلكان. Ms. ه الغين ما ينتهم د Ms. \* سارغس كا \* الوغر عا

غياضٍ ومشاهرُ و مياه و كلاء ولهم بقرٌ و غنمُ كثيرٌ ولا يكون عدهم إبل لأن الإبل لا تعيش في أرضهم اكثرُ من سنة ولا يكون عناهم ملح وربما حل الناجر اليهم الملح فيشترى منه منا ملح نفرو و سمور و غذاؤهم في الصيف لبن الرماك و في الشتاء اللحوم المقدّدة و تكثّر الثلوج عندهم حتى تقع الثلجة بقدر قامة زمح فإذا وقعت مثل ذلك نقل الليمالية وواربهم الى ناحية الفرّية إذا كان بينهم صلّم و للكيمالية اسراب [18] قد اتخذوا لشتائهم ويقيمون فيها ايّام البرد الشديد وإن أراد أحدهم الخروج المحياد السمور والقائم وغيره عبد الى خسبتين طول كل واحدة منهما للثة أدرع في عرض شبر قد محمل أحد رأسيه مرتفعًا مثل صدر السفينة و يشدّها على رجليك مع الحنق ثم يتكي عليها فيتكرّش في على الثالج شبيهًا بالسفينة التي يشقّ عباب الهاء

(8) وعلى عبى هلولاً الكماكية تلت أمُم يعبدون النيران والبياه وهم يتبايعون مع الغرباء و يعاملونهم بالإشارة من غير أن يكون بينهم مخاطبة باللسان بل يحيل الغريب سلعته على خشبة و يجئ الكماكي (؟) فيضع عوض السلعة بإزائها فإن رضي صاحب السلعة أخذ العوض و طرك ما على خشبته و إن لم يُرَّض تُركه و النرُ ما يلتمسون الطساس الشبهية والجرُب الخير وهم يصومون في السنة يومًا واحدًا و يُحرِقون موتاهم و لا يُبكون على الموتى و يقولون إنّا نرضى بقضاء الله تعالى

و ممّا يلى القبلة من كماكُ(ا) قومٌ يقال لهم البصريّة (ا) ولهم رئيسٌ على حِدة و مساكنهم في المستاء والغياض شناء وصيفًا

(1) و البعناكية قوم ستارة يتبعون مواقع القطر والكلاء وطول أرض بجناك مسيرة تلثين يومًا في تلثين يومًا قد أحاط بهم من كلّ جهة المُم كثيرة ففي ناحية الشمال منهم بلاد خِفِاقه و في ناحية الجيوب في الحية المشرف بلاد الغزّيّة ومن ناحية المشرف بلاد الغزّيّة ومن ناحية

خَفِـاِ فِ Ms.

في القديم فلمّا جاوروا المسلمين صاروا يدفنون ِ النُوتى و في خرخيز رجلً من عامّتهم يُلقّب بفغينون يُستَحَضّرُ كُلُّ سنةً في يوم معلوم و يُحَيِّعُ عليه المختون و المعاب المزامير وما اشبه ذلك ويأخذُون في الم الشرب والقَصْف فإذا طاب معلسهم فُشي على هذا الرجلُ وسقط كالمصروع مَ يُسألُ عن كلِّ ما يحدُث [12] في تلك السنة من الأحداثِ فيُخبِرُ بِما يكون مي خَصْبِ وحِدْبِ وَمطر و قبط ر غير ذلك ويعتقدون أنّ ذلك حُقُّ 5) و فی ارض خرخیز اربعهٔ او دیهٔ تجری و تنصب فی وادی عظیم پشریم فَيْمَا بِينِ حِبَالٍ وَاعْوَارٍ مَطَامَةٍ وَحَكَى أَنَّ رَجِلاً مَنْ حَرِجْيْزِ رَكِ سَفِينَنَّا وأرسلُها فى دلك الوادى مسارَّت به تلتة ايامٍ في ظلم لم يَرُ في هذه الآيام لا سمسًا ولا كُوكِنًا وَلا صَوًّا مَ عَلَمِ معد ذَّكُ إلى صياءٍ وَ فَضاءٍ فَعْرِجٍ مَنَ السَّفِينَةُ فسمع وُقعُ حوامر الدواب فأرققي الى شجرة ينتظر الحال فإذا هو بثلثة مى الفرسان طوال طول كل واحد منهم قيد ً رُمِ طُويل و إذا معهم كلاًبُ في عِظم البقرة فأمّا قرُبوا منه ورأوه ترضّوا عليه وأنزله أحدهم و أخذه على حَابَّته و سَتْرِه عن اَلْكَلَابِ خَوْفاً أَن تَفْتُرسَهُ وَ أَتُوا بِهُ موضع رحالهم فألقوه فوق ظهر حمية و أطعموه من طعامهم و جعلوا يُتعجّبون منه كانه لم يُرُوا مثله ثمّ أحتمله بعضُهم و أتى به الى قُرب موضعه و أرشده الطريق حتّى رجع الى موضعه و لا يُعرف أحدٌ مسّى كان هاولاء وائى حنس هم من الناس

و منهم الخرائية و كانوا يسلنون جبل تونس وهوجبل الذهب و كانوا يسلنون جبل تونس وهوجبل الذهب وغصبوها واستولوا عليهم و قهروا سلطانهم و منها خرجوا الى بلاد الإسلام وهم تسم فرق ثلث جكلية و ثلث بعسكلية (؟) و واحد بُلاف وواحدُ كُوكِركِي، وواحدٌ تُحسى

ومنهم كماك وهم قوم كي ليس لهم قرى ولا بيوت واخاهم أصحاب مردركني (؟) ع مد التركشيه له \* توليس ، ضوا ، ١٨٠٠ تا ياخلوا ، ١٨٠٠ هـ

المفاوز

ومِن قبائلهم العظمة العزّيّة وحم اثنا عشرِ قبيلة يسمّى بعصهم الْتُغَزُّفُونِ \* و بعضهم اىعر(!) و بعضهم أوج عر(!) و ملكه يسمّى تغزَّفًا قان وله جنود ً كنيرةً وكان لهلكهم في القديم [ط20] الف شاكري واربعمائة جارية وكانت السَّاكرية بأكلون الطعام عنده كلِّ يوم ثلث مرَّاتٍ ويُستَعُون ثلثةً للنَّهُ بعد الطعام ولا يَبرُز ملكهم للعامِّةُ اللَّه في العين مَرَّةُ ولهم رسوم حسنة في السياسات و بعضم ساكنو المدن و بعضم ساكنوالبراري والصارى أصاب الخيام والخركاهات وبراريهم تحاذى بلاد ما وراء النهر وبعضهم وبعضهم فَسُمُّوا التركمانيَّة وصار بينهم وبين من لم يُسلم مُنابَدَة ثم كُثُر المسلمون منهم وحَسُن اسلامُهم وغالبول الكفرة وطردوهم فتنعُّول عي خوارزم الى محالِّ البعناكيّة وانتشى التركمانيّة في بلاد الاسلام وأحسنوا فيها السيرة حتى ملكوا اكثرها وصاروا ملوكا وسلاطيئ وصلم فرقة يقال لهم قون أقبلوا مِن أرضِ قناى وهم مستوحشون من فتاخان وهم نصارى نسطوريّة فَارَفُوا مِرَارُهُمْ لَضِيقُ المرعِي عَلَيْهُمْ الْمُرعِي عَلَيْهُمْ الْمُرعِي ع عليهم منهم الصي بن تُحينارًا خوارزمشاه فاتبعهم أمّة يقال لهم قاى هم اكثرُ منهم عددًا و أشدٌ قوّةٌ و أحلوهم عن تلك المراعي فارتحلوا الى ارض الشركمانيّة وانجلى الشاريّة الى ارض التركمانيّة وانجلى الشاريّة الى ارض التركمانيّة وانجلى الشاريّة الى ارض التركمانيّة الى مشارف الغُزيّة و انتقل الغزيّة الى ارض البعناكية بالقرب من سباحل

مواش وخيام ومن موضعهم الى حدود تبت خاقان مسيرة عشرين يومًا وهناك مُوضعٌ بقال له زاب() وفي هذا الموضع نهر عظيم أحد شطيه وهو الذي يلى المشرف حدّ الصين والجانب الغربيّ حدّ التبت وتجار الصين يحلون أمتعتهم الى شطّ هذا النهر ويعبُرون الى الجانب الآخر في مراكب قد اتخذوها من الخشب والجلود ويُبايعون ويعاملون أهل التبت و بنصرفون في يومهم ذلك

و يعاملون اهل التبت و ينصرفون في يومهم ذلك و امّا المسك المنسوب الى التبت فهو أجود أنواع المسك وأذكاها رائحة وهو سرّة دابة يُشبه ضخام الطباء و إنّها تهيج في وقت معلوم من السنة و يُجتمع في شرَرها دُمَّ السودُ يفيض البها من سائر البسد و يشتد الورم والوجع في رأسها و في جميع بدنها فتأتى مواضع في تلك البراري قد اعتادت الرافة فيها صائحة عن العلف والماء حتى تسقط سرّتها التورّمة من كثرة الدم وربّما سقط قرنها ايضا و منها ما تموت هناك و منها ما تبرأ و ترجع الى الري ويجتع في تلك المرافة شرر منها و تأتى عليها السنون و قد جد الدم و يبس في تلك الموافق شرومنها و تأتى عليها السنون و قد جد الدم و يبس و استعال مسكم تم يخرج شباب التبت وقت الأمطار الى تلك المفاوز فريّما خاب سُعيهم

# ألباب الثاسِع ف للذ*ك*

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العرباء من المسلمين أو غيرهم استوطنها و لَمْ يَخْرِج منها البَّدَ لَطِيبِهَا وَكُمْ يَخْرِج منها البَّدَ لَطِيبِهَا وَكُثْرِةٍ حَيْرِهَا وَبِهَا ذَهِبُ كَثْيِرٌ

واراصى الصبى مأس بحرالتعبط واراضى التعزغز والنبت والخليم الفارسى و إمّا التبّت فهي بلاده موضوعة بين ارضَ الصين و الهند والأرض الْخُرِيَّةُ والتَّغَرُغُرُ وَبِحْرُ فارسُ(!) وَبِعَضْهَا فَي مَمَلَكُ الْصِينِ وَبِعَضْهَا . عى صَلَكَة الْهَنِدُ وَلَهِمَ شَبُهُ بَالْصِينَ والتركُ وَالهِندُ وَلَهَا مَلَكُ مُسْتَقَلُّ بَلَاته ولغُتهم تُحَالَف سائر اللغات ومَي حاصية بلادهم التي مَن دَخَلَ و سكنها يكون مسرورًا ضاحكًا أبدًا من غيراً تي يُعْوف سببًا له ولا نُرى فيها معزون أبدا وم النّتنيّة حنسٌ بقال لهم أراه يسكنون يُركى فيها معزوق ابدا ومن اسبيه من المام ومروج ومراع لهم بلادًا و مواضع يقال لها بالتبنيّة الخايل فيها آجام ومروج ومراع لهم وهم مِن اهل الكِك إذا مات نبت خافان ولم نبق له نسل و مي أهل الخاقانية أحد اختاروا منهم رجلا وجعلوا له الخاقانية و امّا الموضع الذي يقال له باب النّبتين لا فهو باب منصوبة بي جبل شِيوُه وو اجرى حرناب علي حائطٍ ضعيفٍ بُنِي من السَّوك وِالترابَ وَبِهِا مُسْلِحةُ اهِلِ التِّت يَأْخَذُونُ الباجِ مَن كُلِّ مَن سَلَكَ ذَلَكَ الطَّرِيق ويأُخذون من كل اربعين واحدًا ومن التبنية جنسٌ يقال لهم الك ربك وهم فقراء ضعفاء ولهم معادن النهب والفضة بعضها في الجبال و بعضها في التُراب فالذي منها في الجبال يُؤخذ منه القطع الكِبارِ مِي الذهب مثل رَوْسِ الْجُلانُ والْجِدَاءُ إِلَّا أَزَّمُ لَا يَحِلُونَ منها سينًا ويزمون ان من أخذ منها سننًا وقع في بيته الموت فلا برال كذلك حَنَّى بُرُدَّهُ [202] الى مُوضِعِه مَى الْجِبل مُحينند يرتفع الموت عنهم والذي بنتفعون به من ذلك المعدن هو ما من المعدن هو ما من التقطون من التواج وحراجُهم على رؤسهم و فوق رانك رنك حنس آخر من التبتية شِنْهُ الأتراك اصحاب \* رانك ربك ء \* باب التبتيني ؟ كا \* اخا ه

الحرارة كما في الصقالبة والروس

والتأديب فلا يُعاقب الله بعد أن يُعترف بذنبه ويبذُل خطه بنلك ثم والتأديب فلا يُعاقب الله بعد أن يُعترف بذنبه ويبذُل خطه بنلك ثم يُعرَض خطّه على امناء الهك ويأمرُ الهلك بتأديبه على جنايته وكذلك إن يُعرَض خطّه على امناء الهك ويأمرُ الهلك بتأديبه على جنايته وكذلك إن أذنب ذنبًا استوجب به القتل فانة لا يُقتَل حتى يبذُل عطه بانه استوجب القتل ثم يقول عليه خطه بحضرة المجمهور حتى يُقر به ثم يتوقف ساهات القتل ثم يُنظر هل ينكرون من عقله شيئًا فاذا اتفقوا على صخة عقله حينئذ قتلوه

ومَن سُنتهم انَّ من خرج منها الى سفرٍ يكتبون اسمه وما معه من الأموال والرقيق ثم إذا بلغ كلّ مسلحة يُقرأ الكتوب وصاحب المسلحة يكتب الى الحصى الذي هو امين الملك مرّ بنا فلانَّ بن فلانَ بن فلانَ من الله عن الله ورقيقه سالاً وانما يفعلون ذلك صيافة لاموال الناس ومن خرج منهم بعليم إذن الملك ثم ظهر عليه أخذو منهم بعليم إذا اشترى الغريب حارية وأولدها وأراد وغرم و في بعض بلادهم إذا اشترى الغريب حارية وأولدها وأراد أن يُخرِجُها معه يُمنع من ذلك ويقولون لم ربعت في أرضنا ومَن أدن يُخرِجُها معه يُمنع من ذلك ويقولون لم ربعت في أرضنا ومَن أدن كاله فالآن خذ زرعك يعنى الولد و دَع الارض

(39) وهم يتباهون بنظافة الثياب و نُبل الدور وكثرة الأواني و دورهم واسعة مزوّقة البالس بالتماثيل و النقوش و سكل مخطاة بكنائس مرخشب الشربين و كذلك اكثر أسوافهم و تُكسَرُ في كلّ يوم دفعات و تُرسُّ و يجعلون [تا 19] عتبات دورهم مرتفعة لتمنع القيامة

من دورهم (40 وإذا أراد الهلك دخول بيت النساء والخلوة بهرج صعدالمنجم الى سطح ذلك البيت الذى هو فيه و يرصد الكواكب ويختار لهومثا لمباشرته بصض نسائه

هِ فَى أَقَاصَى أَرْضَ الصينَ بِلادَّ يقال لها سيلًا كُلَّ مَنَ دِخَلَها مِنَ \* عَلَيْ مَنَ عَلَمُها مِنَ \* عَلَيْ اللهِ عَلَيْ عَلَيْ اللهِ عَلَيْ عَلَيْ عَلَيْ عَلَيْ عَلَيْ اللهِ عَلَيْ 
السلفان في المعالِّ والسِلك فإن وِحدوا أحدًا خارج المنزل صربوا عُنقه وطرحوا رأسه في موضع قد أُعِدّ لذلك مكتوبُ عليه هذا جرادُ من حلف امْرُ السلطان و مِن حَلْمِهم أَن من سُرَف زيادةٌ على مانه فلس وهو عشرة دراهم يُقتلُ ولا يُتركُ البتة

و حَوالَى خِدان الذي هو مدينة الملك الملقب بفضفور مائة وعشرون قريةً في كلّ قرية زُهاء الف رجل مرتبةً وللمدينة اربعة أبواب وإذا رُكِبُ الملك ركب معه تلُّثون الف فارس ويقال الله ليلك الصبي تلتمانه ويستون مدينة يُحُل البه كلّ يوم خواج مدينة وكسوة لحاصة بدنه وحارية يُرضاها ومن سنتم أن لا يُترِكُ احد يتربض العنطة والعطب والملح والعديد كل يكون مطروحًا في اسواقهم حتى نشترى منها بقدر الحاجة وحوالي

مدان بحور و فيها جزائر و مدة يؤدون الخراج مدرك سير المركب و ساحل الصيى مسيرة شهرين والبحريون يُقدِّرون سير المركب في كلّ يوم إذا طاب الربح خمسين فرسخًا فكلّى هذا التقدير يكوني ساجلهًا تلاف فرسخ على شط البحر و اكثرها عامرة مسكون و يقال ان المالة الاف فرسخ على شط البحر و اكثرها عامرة مسكون و يقال ان

بها تلتمائة مدينة عامرة

رَحَى وَعَى يَسَارَ بُلَادِ الْصَّيْنِ عَنْدَ مَطَلَعِ السَّمِسِ الْصَيْفِي خَلَقُ كُثْيَرٌ وَعَى يَسَارِ بُلَادِ الْصَّيْنِ عَنْدَ مَطْلَعِ السَّمِسِ الْصَيْفِي خَلَقُ كُثْيَرٌ فَيَمِاهُ بِينَ الْصِينِ وَالْسَرِحِيرِ وَهِمِ اجْنَاشُ لَهَا أَسَامِي صِنْلُ الْمِرْدِ) حَوْمِدُونَ فَيَمَاهُ بِينَ الْصِينِ وَالْسَرِحِيرِ وَهِمِ اجْنَاشُ لَهَا أَسَامِي صِنْلُ الْمِرْدِ) حَوْمِدُونَ تولمان مواحد کلی(۱) مانی(۱) حسالی(۱) مونوعی(۱) میکوی(۱) موری(۱) وهم يَخذُون [19a] خلى نسائهم مَن الوُدُعَ الأبيض ويجسلُونها بُدُلَاللَالى ٥ وهم يَخذُون [19a] خلى نسائك انّ وراء الصين أمّة مِ شُقر الألوان ٥٥ و ذكر صاحب كتاب السائك انّ وراء الصين أمّة مِ شُقر الألوان في و رو ماميد عب المساد الى ورد الصين الملكون السوابًا خمر الشعور و يشتد حر الشمس عندهم و أزّم يسلكون السواب قد اتخذوها لأنفُسِهم فاذا طلعت الشمس عليهم دخلوا تلك الأسراب الى أن يقرُبُ الشُمس من الغروب شمّ يخرُجون وهذا قول فيه نظرً لِأَن شقره اللون وحرة الشعور عكون من إفراط البرد و قِلّة

عنه وإن كان بين رجل وامرأة خصومة كانوا الى المرأة أميل و نساؤهم يغلبن عَلَى الرجال في الصُّناعَاتَ وُالتِّجارات ونساؤهم مَكَنَبُ غَاتَ الشَّعور وَ الحُصَّى منهم إذا زني قُبَل رجِلاً كان أو امرأةٌ ولاً لِدرا عنه العدّ وفي أسواقهم بساء يُمرَق بالزاء ولكسلطان عليهي ضريبة وهي مي سَفَلَتهم وسقاطهم و ذلك في مدينة سانجو(؟) وهي مدينة كبيرة؟

وهي فامًّا المدينة العظمى الَّتي يَسَكُنها مَلَك الصين فَتُسَّمى خدان ويقال أنَّ [م] مدينة جينانجكث إلى خدان مسيرة اربِعة اشهر سير الكلاء

(30) وَ بلاد الصين واسعةً والغالب على عامّتها استدارة الوجوه و فطوسة الأنوف ولباسهم الحرير والديباج وعامتهم يوسّعون المامهم و يطوّلون ذيولهم حتى تنجو في الارض ( ودورهم واسعة مزوّقة المجالس بالتماثيل ) الم وجنودهم كنيرة وملكهم لا يكاد يبرز ولا يُصِل اليه أحدٌ اللّه وزيره أوحاجبه ورؤس عسكره يرُونه في كلّ سبعة إيام مرَّة واذا ورد عليه رسول ص بعض الملوك الْخُول عليه في وقت يأذن له ويقف وزيره عي يمينه ويقف الرسول بالبعد منه على حسب مرتبة قرسله تم يسجد ولا برفع رأسه حتَّى يُؤْمِرُ بذِلَك تم يسأل الحاجب عنه فيُخبره عن حاله وعيًّا وُجَّهُ له نم يَامُر الْمَلَكِ لَهُ بَتَخْت أَنُوابِ وجامٍ مَن فِضَّة مَذَهِّبَة و يُصوفُ الى وار الرُسُلِ وَيَعضر كُلِّ يومِ دار الهلك [َكَاكُا] ويُتعدّى الى أن يَجابَ ويَصرفُ (3) والنز زروجهم أغذًا، فاذا قلّت الأمطار غلت أسعارهم وإذا أبتلوا بغلاء السعروجة الملك الى بيوت الاصنام ويأخذ السّمنية ويقيّدهم ويغلِّهم ويهتَدَهم بالقتل ان لم يأتوا بالاصطار فلا يزالوا منكوبينَ الى ا

انّ يأتي المطر (32) وفي قصر الملك كوسات وطيول كثيرة فاذا قرْب غروب الشمس فَرْعَتَ الكوساَت فإذا سمعواً ذَلَكَ بادركُلُ واحدٍ وتسارعَ الى منزله هَلاَ يَبَعَى بِعَدَ غُرُوبِ الشَّحِسَ أَحَدَّ مِي خَارِجِ الْمَدَيِنَةَ وَ تَفَرَّفَ أَصِحَابِ \$38. مِلاَ يَبَعَى بِعَدَ غُرُوبِ الشَّحِسَ أَحَدُّ مِي خَارِجِ الْمَدَيِنَةِ وَ تَفَرِّفَ أَصِحَابِ

والده او قريبه كيك يشتبه عليهم سنته وإذا بلغ مبلغ الرجال ضربت عليه الجزية وليس يكاد يذهب على اللك عدد من في صالته من الرجال و من مات منهم فإنه لا يُدفى إلّا في السنة والشهرواليوم والساعة التي ولد بها فإن ماتُ في اهله ومُنزله صبى في نقير من خشب كهيئة التابوتُ و يُطرُح عليه أدوية تحفظ جثّته عن النّتن والتحليل إن كان موسرًا و إن كان مقلاً ظُرِح عليه الصدف الموق بعدان يُستُف حتى يصير كالذُرورِ فينشف رطوباته ولاينتي وهلا النقير الذي يوضع فيه الميّت عكث في ارضهم الف سنة والتركا يكاديعفّى وإذا مات الرجل منهم فإنّ زوجته تُحِدّ عليه تلك سنيي وكذلك على ابنها وأخيها وُفُولا وَسُوابًا وَيَضَفُّونُها بالدبايع والحرير فإذا وُضع في القبر زُهبت تلك الأطمة وربِّما مُهل معه إن كان ذاجدة فاخر دوابيه وثيابه فيمرزّق على قبره ومُن مات من السلمين عدهم ولا يُكونَ مُعه وارثَ إُجِدُ مَالَةُ وَوَضِعِ فِي بيت مَالِ المَلَكِ مَكْتُوا عَلَيْهِ اللَّهُ صَاحِبِهِ وَإِسم أبيه وجده و تأريخ مونه و يُنتظر به ثلث سنيي [183] و ثلثه اشهر ونلثة ايّام فإن جاء ولينه الى هذه الخاية يسلم المال اليه واهل الصين يُعرف بعضهم أنوار بعض لا يشتبه ذلك عليهم لأنّ كلّهم المعبون ذلك وإذا مات أحدُ عن صبيّ لا كافل له سُمّ الي أمناء الملك في تعليمه وتربيته و يُنفقون عليه من بيت المال حتى إذا أدرك تضربُ عليه الجزية وَإِدا بِلَغ الشَّيْخِ نَمانين سنةٌ او سبعين أجُرى علبه مِن بيت المال وإذا أذنب ذنبًا يستوجب القتل او العقوبة عُفي

لصاحب الجيش والنصف يُنفُذ الى ملك الصين وإذا وصل المركب الى باب هذه المدينة عَرَج اليه الأمناء والكتّاب من اهل البلد فيكتبوي عدر ما في الركب من الرجال والنساء والصبيان والصبيد ثم يُكنبُ اسم صاحب المركب وإسم أبيه ويُكتب أسماء الذبي معه من التجار و تُكتب أسنانهم بأنَّ يُسالِّ الرَّجِل كُم أَتَى عليه مِن السنين ِ وَمِن ايِّ بلدِ هُو وَمِن ايُّ قبيلة ثم بِكِنْبُونِ وَكُيْبُتُونِ عَيْعِ ما في الركب من الأمتعة على المسلمة م بِكِنْبُونِ وَهِمْ يَسْتُونِهُ المُسَلِّى خَتُو وَهِمْ يَسْتُونِهُ المُسَلِّى خَتُو وَهِمْ يَسْتُونِهُ بِشَانَ فَاذَا أَتْبَتُوا جَمْيِعِ مَا فِي الْمُركِبُ أَذِنُوا لِهِم بِالْنَزُولِ فَاذَا سُكْنُوا فِي الرحال بأتيرم الخصى اللمين و يحلم الى صاحب المدينة وكل من كان ثيابه أنطف وأحسن كان اكرم عندهم ثمّ يسألهم الملك عن احوالهم في أنفسهم ومسيرهم في طريقهم ثمّ يُبْعُنُون الى منزل الخصى الامين و منزله خارج المدينة فاذا دخلوا عليه يوضع لهم كراسي فيجلسون عليها مدله حارج المدينة فاذا دعنوا عليه يوضع مهم مرسى بجسون - به ويسالهم من أخوالهم ويكرمهم ويقدم لهم الفواله منا يكون عندهم ويسقيهم الشراب نم يأمرهم بالانصراف الى رحالهم ويائم الوليل من قبله بحسن تعهدهم وتفقدهم واسم الوليل عندهم فاسام ثم يُخرج ما في المراكب من الامنعة ويُوضع في بيوت ويُختم عليها الامناء ويُختع البيع والشراء سنّة اشهر الى آخر وقت الربح فاذا علموا أن المراكب قد انقطعت وجاء وقت لا يقدم فيه احد المناه الى التجار بعدما انقطعت وجاء وقت لا يقدم احد المدادة في المراكب المقلم المناه الى التجار بعدما المناه الى التجار بعدما المناه الى التجار بعدما المناه الى التجار بعدما المناه الله المناه الى التجار بعدما المناه المناء المناه ا أخذوا منه المكس وهومى كل عشرة تلثة فيبيعونه كما يريدون وانَّا يُمنَع من البيع والسَّراء في السَّهُور السِّنَّة اليحصل جميع ما يُحل [176] البرم ويتقرر ثمنه فلا يقع بخسُّ وضررُ بالبانع او المسترى للأنَّه ربِّما كَثْر الامتعة في سنة فيكشد وربَّما قلَّ فيعيِّ وبيلماتهم بالفلوس بها يشترون جميع الامتعة وهيم اهل الصيى عليهم جزيةً الله النساء والصيان وإذا ولد المولود فيهم يكتب وقت مولوه من ليل او نهارٍ ويوضع المكتوب عند

خكود هم Ms. ع

26) فامًّا الطريق الى الصين من جانب البحر فاوّلِ مرفأر من البحر واليه بِلَدَّ يَقَالَ لَهُ لُوقِيرًا ثُمْ مَرِينَةً خَانَفُو ۚ وَهَى أَعْظُمْ مَنَ لُوقِيرِ وَهُو مِرْفَأُ أعظم وبها نهراً لهاء عُذُب كبيرٌ يخترف البلد وعليه جُسُورٌ وعلى احد جانبيه أسواف التعار العراء وعلى جانبه له الآخر اسواف أهل المدينة و الترمي يقصدهم من التجار الفرس والعرب والفرس يركبون المراكب اليهم من سيراف والعرب من البصوة وفي هذه المدينة صاحب عُشر الملكو عجع أمتعة التعار ويأخذ منهم العشر ولاهل هذه المدينة وفا واماية وصدف لهجة وهناك تُتَّخذ العضائر الصبنية والكواغذ العسنة التي يكون احد وُجْهُيْها أبيض والوجه الآخر أصفر والحرير الصيني الجيّد ولباس اهلها الخفاتين ومن رسمهم ان كلّ واحد ص اهلِ السوقي تحال الآخر زبارا ويتبايعون ويتعاملون فإذا غربت الشمس قُرِع الطبل في الجانسي فينصوف كلّ فريق الى مواصعهم في وُحد بعد ذلك من الفريقين في سوف فيره أدّب و غُرّم ومن بقي من الصينتين في سوق العرباء وجنّ عليه الليلَ بات ليلتَهُ عَنْدَهُم ولا يُطْلُفِ العرب أَنْ يُحرجُ رقيقًا منها من غلام اوجارية على وجه الرف الله أن يكور الناجر قد استولد حارية فيخرِجها ولا تُعنَّع منه ويُحُل البهم من الامتعة أنياب الفيل والفُلفل وَالْحُلْبِيت والزَّجاجِ واللازوردِ و الزعفران والعولاد و خشب الطَرِفاء والجور وجيع الفواكه البابسة كالتمر والزبنب وملكهم يكرم التخار ولا ظلم على احد مسى يُود ناحيته وهم سي الوجوه كلهم ليس فيهم [17] السود ولا أسمر وهم أشد بياضًا مى الروه و انصع ألوانًا و أرق بشرة وملك خانفوه تحت يد ملك الصيى والد أمرُ الحيش والقتال ورسمُ م أنْ يأخدوا من التجّار الدين يُردون ها المدينة من مل على عشرة تلتظ و يكون النصف منه على المدينة من على المدينة من الله على المدينة من على المدينة من الله على المدينة الله المدينة الله المدينة الله المدينة الله المدينة الله المدينة الله المدينة جانقو Ms.

في الخافقين ونجب أن تتأكد المودة والكرامة في البين ولهذا كان السال هذا الرسول ولئن شكست الديار لقد تدانت القلوب و تريد أن ترخي باقي العرعلى المكاتبة والتحاب ليبقى به خسس الذكر على الأبد فإن رفي فيما رغبنا فيه كتب كنابًا ووجه رسولًا لِتشهر قواعد الألفة به و تأكد الأحوال بمكانه وقد توجه من قتاى غلامً است قلتنكا فأزبُ ضنا في صحبته أحد أصحابنا حتى إذا اتفق توجيم احد الينا كانوا معًا فإن صر رسول قتاى في منصر فيه على هذه النواحي ولم يصطحب معًا فإن من الهدايا إذ لم يكن من الطريق على ثقة ولكنا باسطنا بغلام ونشابة للعكلمة و سيؤدى قاشى رسالتنا مشافهة

ورأى ما فيها من الرعونة لم يستجون من فيها من الرعونة لم يستجون من نفسه استعافها بما يلتمسان من المصادقة والمكاتبة بحسب قوق إعتقاده في الإسلام و صرف الرسُل وقال لها إن السِلْم والموادعة اسّا يكونان كي الرسلم الموادعة الله عنه الموادعة الله المونان الموادية الله المونان 
قبل الاسلام و أكسّلم

وكان ذلك في سنة ثماني عشرة واربعائة فامّا قولهم في تأريخ الكتاب سنة الفار فإنّ للصيب والترك و ثبّت (!) والختي دورًا يدور على اثنتي عشر سنة ويعود عند منتهاه الى اوّله و تلك السنون مسسّاة عيوانات معيّنة تختلف أساؤها في لفارم و أولاها يقال لها [ط6] سنة الفار والثانية سنة الثور والثالثة النمر والرابعة الأرب والخامسة لبنات الماء والسادسة الحيّة والسابعة الفرس والثامنة الشاة والتاسعة القرد والعاشرة الدجاجة والحادية عشرة والكلب والثانية عشرة الغنور ثمّ يعود الى الفار

بكون Ms. عشر Ms. و المحتة Ms. ما \* ثعبان الماء a

الأُخت أمرا النواحي السُفلي يُتُوائر رُسُلهم و تُتَّصِل الكُتُ والهاداة منهم سِوَاهُ فَانَهُ الى الآن لم يُرسَلُ وَلَمْ يُوفِدُ وَنَحِيَ نَسْمَعَ تَخْرُجُهُ فِي النَّمُواءُ النَّالِ النَّهُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُولُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّالِ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُولُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُواءُ النَّمُولُ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولَ النَّمُولُ النَّهُ النَّالِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّوْلِ النَّمُولِ النَّالِ النَّلْمُ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّمُولِ النَّهُ النَّمُولِ اللَّهُ اللَّالِي اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّا المهابة وحيازتُه المالك بالبطس والأيد واستقراره إرادته في الولم، وكان من الواجب عند امتلاكِه الزعامة أنْ يكتب يخبُره الى الخان الأعظم الذى ليس تحت السمآء أجلّ منه و يُطالِعُ بِحَالِهُ وَقَدَ ابتدأُنّا سى بذلك واقتصرنا على إنهاض هذا الرسول المستبق دون من يُقْوقِه في آلحال والتحمّل لطول المسافة وامتداد الهُدّة في قطعها وإذ وقعَتْ الوُصْلَة مع قدرخان بحرة من صميم النب أزوَّجُتْ من ابنبهِ جغرتيكيي واتحدُ البينان بيها أمُزنا قدرخان أن يُطرّف ع لرسولنا اليه ولرسوله الينا مي ذوى العصافة والعقل والرجاحة لُنْلِقي اليّه مَا عندنا وَنَحَاطِبُه بَمَا لَدَينا وَنْقِيمَ رسم الهَهاداة ۚ فَى صَبِته وَ الْهِيمَا وَاللّهُ وَالْمَا وكان الغَرَض في إزهاض هذا الرسول تَعَلِمُنْكا(!) إنفتِاح طريق الوصلة واتِّصال غُرُى الْمُودّة وما حلّ من التذكرة إلّا ثُوبَى خُويد ونُوب ژونکی و توب کنزی و توبی شکردی دوی قطعین وخمسه عشر تُوبًا ذات قَطَعين مَن العرير وفَرُو سمور ياقوله ومائني سمور وألفى سياد وتلتيب نافجة مسك وقوشا مع عشر نشابات وكُتِبُ الكتاب في سنة الفار

وكتب اليه يُعُرِحان كتابًا هذه ترجمتُهُ -: [63]
عى سلامَتِنا ايلك الجليل يُعُرِحان الى السلطان معود نَسالُهُ على بُعدِ
الشّقة كيف هو في نفسه فخر نُسَرّ بما نسمح من سلامته ونَبَيِّة بما يتناهي الينا من استيلائه على النواحي السفلي الى بلاد الهند وانه يواصل ملوك العالم و يواد أصاب الأطراف فتميل دولتنا الى مخالة مِتلِه من مشاهير المبارزين و مذكوري كبار الدنيا بارمُي والشجاعة عالم من مشاهير المبارزين و مذكوري كبار الدنيا بارمُي والشجاعة يافو علا له يطوف ها، عينكين المحالم جيارته علا هـ

تمخاج خان و بنتهى الى ينحُور في قريب من أربعين يومًا ووراء الصين أمَّةً تُحرَف بشرغول ويُسترم أهل الصين سنقو وهم من قتائ على مسيرة شهر في نراية العُران بن الماء والأوحال ويقال أزّم الذين يُستُون ماجّين والهد بستونه الصير العُظيَى وص قصد قوجوا وهو بَلَدُ يُغْرِحُانِ فَاتَّهُ يَتِياسُرَعَى سَاجُو ﴿ وَمِي قَصِدُ أُوجُم قَصَّبَةً قتاى مرّ على سَمَّت المشرق فوصل الى موضع بقال له حاتون سَر، في قريب من شهرين تم الى أوتكبي فى شهر شم الى اوْجَم فى شهر و *دُورُ* أوجم يُقارب فرسنين و يجيط ربذه المسلكة قضبائي مُعَقَّفَةٌ مِنْرُورُةٍ \* الربم يُقارب فرسنين و يجيط ربذه المسلكة قضبائي مُعَقَّفَةٌ مِنْرُورُةٍ \* الطُّوفِينِ فَي الْأَرْضِ وَهِنَاكَ حَفَظُة مُرْتَبُونِ فِي كُلٌّ فَرْسِخِينِ يُدِيمُونَ البُّوَلَان و يُقتفون الْآنار ويقتلون من طفروا به إذا خرج بغير امْرٍ ومنها الي البحرسبعة ايام

20 والسالك نحو منائ يبلّغ على مسيرة نصف شهرٍ من سانجو (؟) ألى قومَ مِن الشَّارِيةِ يُعَرُفُونِ باسم كبيرٍ لَهم وَهُو باسْلُ تَرَارُبُوا البَّهَا

من الإِسَّلام خوفِ الإِحْتَتَانَ

(2) وملك قتائ و يُغرُ وإن تباعدُت ديارهم عن ديار الإسلام وانقطت السُبُلِ اليها لا يأمنون جانب ملوك الإسلام وجنود المسلمين لما سمعوا و شاهدوا من ظهور هَذَا الدين و استعلائه و اَقتدار اهله على قسع أعدائه فهم عِنا طور لأنفسهم و بلادهم بسد الطريق و ترتيب الحفظة وليَّا زُرِيًّا للسلطان معمورُ رُحِيهُ الله مَا تُرَبِّيًّا مَن الاقتدارُ والاستبلاء على بلاد الهند وبلاد الترك استشعر منه صاحب قتاى وصاحب

عَى سلامه(؟) الى امير خواسان محمود قراحان ان ربُّ السماء خُوَّلُنا مالكَ وجه الأرضِ الْعريضةِ وَ ملكنا نواْمي الطوائف الكَثيرة فنحُنُ في مقرًّا سَالمون وبإرادتِنا مُقتَدون وليس في جهات العالم أحدً مَنْ ابْضُرُوسُمْعُ ٱلَّا وقدرغب في ثَخالَبْنا والْإِنْصَالَ بِنا والْولاد `

<sup>\*</sup> خانون سین c فوحو ۵ ملا ط قتای . ۱۸۵ ه

العصى الذى فى الجزيرة خلا من العله لأن الحيّات قد كثرت فيه و استولَ عليه فقال العلويّة مكابعة هذه العيات أسهل مرمكاً بنة السيوف والغرف مدخلوا الحص وجعلوا يقتلون الحييات ويرموزها في الماء حتى طهروا العصى عنها فى مُدَّةً ويبة واستوطنوا ولما علم صاحب الصيى ان ليس وراءهم فائلة و أزَّم مضطرَّون الى التمسّلُ بجانبه أقرّهم في ذلك الموضع وأنعشهم مسيشة سوّفها لهم فسكنوا آمِنين مُطمئنين وتوالدوا و تناسَلوا وتعلموا لسار الصين ولسان غيرهم متن يفد

(17) وُلْسِانَ الصين مَعَالفُ لسائر الألسنة وكذلك لسان التبت واهل الصيى كلّه على دين واحدٍ وهو دين مانى بَخلاف قتاى و يُنْح فَإِنَّ في مِلْهِ على مُعَلَّمُ اللّه الدّهودية

(18) و قد كان في قديم الدهر جيئ كور ما وراء النهر من مملكة الصبي و ليورة بسرقند كالفصبة لها فالما ظهر الاسلام و فتح الله تعالى المسلمين كُورُها أنحاز اهل الصيب ألى مراكزهم و بقى في سموقندم آثار اهل الصين صنعة الكاغذ البيد العسى ولما أنحازوا إلى البلاد الشرقية تفوّقت رم البلاد وتقسّمت الصالك فصار للصين مكلُّ ولِقتاى ملك وليْغُر ملكُ وببي هذه الهالك مسافات متنارحة

(19) والقاصد نعوهم للتجارة اوغيرها يسلك من كاشغرالي ياركندفي آربعةَ [152] ايامٍ ومنها الى خُتَى فَي أحدعشِر يومًا ومنها الى كروًما في خسة ايام ومنها الى ساجُوفَى خُسير يومًا ومِن هناكَ تَفَتَّرَفَ الطُّريفَ الْيُ الْصِينِ والى قتاًى والى يُغُرِفن قصد بنجور الذي هو مستقر تمغاج خان ملك الصبى انعوف عن استقبال المشرف نعو العنوب يمنة وبلغ قِامجوط تمّ الى لكسى فى اربصى يومًا يَتياسُو فيها يَ عَنْهُ بِلَادَ خُجُو الَّتِي يُعرفُ منها سُولِمِي وَجِينا نَجَلَت ومَن هُناك يدخل مملكة

فتدخلتنى حَيرة لحُسى بياض بُشُرَته وسواد شامته و دقّة قيمه فقال أو ما لكُ قد تَخير حالك فقلت كثر تعجبي من دقّة قيمك وحُسنه فقال أو قدرت ان على قيما آخر حتى قدرت ان على قيما آخر حتى نزع خمسة من القيمان فكان الخال يلوح من تحت خسة الأنواب وهذا نوع واحد من الثياب

وعندهم انواع أخر منه كثيرة تُجلب مى عندهم مع طُرُف عجيبة فريبة ويجلب البهم العاج والكندر والكهرباء الفصوص الصقلبى الذى يقطر صُمَّاً من الاشجار فى بحرالصقالبة لِأنِّ بالصين كهرباء يضرب الى السواد فلا يرغبون فيه و يرغبون فى الفصوص ليتُخَلُوا فيه و يزعمون الله ينفع من الإصابة بالصين و يرغبون ايضا فى الختو الذى هو قرن الكركدة وهو أعرّ محمول الى الصين لأزّم يتخذون منه المناطق و تبلغ قيمة وهو أعرّ محمول الى الصين لأزّم يتخذون منه المناطق و تبلغ قيمة

المنطقة منه مبلغًا عظيمًا عندهم

والحدّ الذين يجلبون الامتعة الى الصين لا يُحكّنُون من دخول البلد ويكون الترمتاج هم مغايبة و ذلك انّ بالقرب من البلد واديًا عظيمًا كأعظم ما يكون من الأودية وفي وسطه عزيرة كبيرة فيها حصق كبيرة يسكنه طائفة من المسلمين الطالبيين العلويين وهم سُفراً بين اهل الصين و بين من يفد عليهم من القوافل والتجّار و يخرُجون اليهم و يطالعون البضائع [146] والامتعة و يحلونها الى صاحب الصين و يأتون بالعوص إذا تقرّر ورتما دخل الواحد بعد الواحد من التحّار مع بضاعته فيبغي فيه الما وامّا سبب سكون العلوية في الجزيرة المذكوة فازّهم فرقة من الطالبيين و معول الى خواسان في ايّام بني أمية واستولمنوها فامّا رأوا الطالبيين ومعول الى خواسان في ايّام بني أمية واستولمنوها فامّا رأوا يشت من ديار الإسلام خوفًا من الطلب فأعازوا الى تُشتْ لهم قدم في سيّ من ديار الإسلام خوفًا من الطلب فأعازوا الى الصين فامّا بلغوا شط الوادي منعهم الرصد عن العبور كعادتهم و لم الصين فامّا بلغوا شط الوادي منعهم الرصد عن العبور كعادتهم و كان يكن لهم سبيل الى الرجوع فقالوا وراءنا السيف و فدّامنا البحر و كان

ليتعلّون a Ms.

يُضرِب ضريةٌ وكذلك يفعل كلّ من يدخُل فإذا كان آخر المجلس حصل من الخشبة تمثال كامل إمّا فرسٍ وإمّا أسد وإمّا انسان وغيره و لمُ يضرِب أحدٌ مهى دخل الا صربة واحدة وغاية حِذَقهم ان الذى دخل اوّلاً وضرب ضربة واحدة فالتالي له يعرف انه للّى تمثال قصد حيى بدله و صنعة التماثيل عندهم تعبّد و تقرّب لان ماني أمرهم بذلك و فرهم بقول الفلاسفة فازّم قالوا في حَدّ الفلسفة إنّه التقبّل بالله وحسب الطاقة الانسانية

والفواك و عبر ذلك و قد اتخذ كل واحد لنفسه عبدك يبيعون الامتعة والفواك و عبر ذلك و قد اتخذ كل واحد لنفسه عبدك يبيعون الامتعة فيها أقيشة و امتعة وما يحتاج البه في ألبيع والشراء والعجلة بجرى من ذاتها من غير دائة وهو جالس عليها يحبسها إذا شاء و يُرسِلها اذا شاء فاتها من على وأيت اهل الأسواف راغبين في القمار ما من حافوت الاوقبه

تَكُمَاتُ وَنَوْدُورِيّهَا تَعَاسَرُ الْمَتَبَايِعَانَ فِي شَيْ فَيَقُولَ أُحَدَّهَا هُلَمٌ فَنُقَامَرُ عليه فينتقلون من المعاملة الى المخاطرة

ا (2) وامّا صنعة التياب الهلبوسه والمفروَّسة فلهم فيها نيقةٌ ومهارةً و ولا يبلغها احدّ من الأمم

(13) و قد حَكَيْنا انّ بهافريد العبوسيّ حل مع نفسه من الصين قيصًا الخضرَ كان يُسِعُ [14] مطويًا قبضةُ لا يتبتّن مِنه شئُ

(14) وقد كُنِب في الاخبار ان رسولًا مي بعض مَلُوك الاسلام توجِّه الى مَلِك الصين تَلقَّاه قوقه الاكرام و أحسنوا مثواه قال ورأيت لللهم خَدَمًّا مجبوبين كأنّهم البدور وهم الدين يختصرون بخدمة الملك ويتكلّمون عنه على سبيل السفارة قال وكان واحد منهم بأتيني برسالة الملك ويُسمع منى الجواب ويُؤدّيه وكان عارفًا بالنر اللغات فبينا هو يكلّمني ذات يوم عن الملك إذ وقع بصرى على خال السود على صدره يلوح من تحت القييص كأنّه بارزَّ بصرى على خال السود على صدره يلوح من تحت القييص كأنّه بارزَّ

و اهله أحدق الناس بالصنائع البرنيية لا يُدانيهم فيها أحدَّ مى الأم ولا يه الموم يدَّ عاليةً فيها الّا انهم لا يبلغون فيها مبلغ اهل الصي واهل الصي يقولون ان الناس كلّهم عُميان في الصناعة اللّا اهل الروم فاتهم يبصوون بعين واحدة يعنى انهم عوفوا نصف العمل فاتهم يبصوون بعين واحدة يعنى انهم عوفوا نصف العمل و عنالفونهم في النرالأشياء لأنهم و الما السيد، الله المدر المدر الله الله المدر المدر المدر المدر المدر المدر الله المدر الم

و و الم الصين لا يُخالطون الاتراك و يُخالفونهم في الترالأشياء لأنهم يلاسون الجباب والعمائم ولا يلبسون الأقبية والقلانس وامّا الهل قتاى و يُغرّفيخالطون الأتراك و يواصلونهم و بينهم و بين ملوك ما وزاء النهر مكاتبات و مواصلات و اهل الصين بخلاف ذلك ولا مكنون الغياء من الدخول الديم و المقام سر أظائره

يمكنون الغرباء من الدَّخول اليهم والمقام بين أظهُرهم مذهبه ه و و النفريم منهبه هم و المتنبي حين غرس في فلورهم مذهبه وهو مذهب الثنوية خاف أن ياتيهم من الغرباء [أحدً] فيبيّن لهم فسادَ ذلك المذهب و يُصُرِّعُم عنه

و قد رأیت رجلاً ذا خنکة قد دخل الصیب و عامل اهله می المتاجر فی کی ارتباطی التا مورد را الله می المتاجر استدارته مسیرة تلاه الله و بقریم بلا آخر اعظم منه و یقال له کوفوا الله ای الله یخرقه فرک کبیری یقطع الا ان الملک ینزل ینجور قال و هذا البلد یخرقه فرک کبیری یقطع البلد بنصفی [ 13 ] فیسکی الملک و حواشیه و جنوده و انباغه فی اُحد الشقین و فی الشق الأخر مساکن الرعایا والاسوات و ملکم یسمی تمغاج خان و هو اُلدی یقال له فغفور

على وحَكَى عن اهلًا الصين من العذف في صناعة أشياء عبيبة منها انه قال ان الملك في كل مُدّة ذَكْرُها يومًا يأذَن المخاص والعامَّ فيه ويجلس المطالم و بين يَدِي مجلسه ميدائ كبيرة فسير فيوضع على باب الميدان قطعة خشب كبيرة ويوضع عليها تُحدّوم فاوّل من يدخل يأخذ القدوم ويضرب به ضرية واحدة على العشبة تم الذي يليه يأخذ القدوم ويضرب به ضرية واحدة على العشبة تم الذي يليه

بحر البصرة و يمرّ بكُور الأهواز م " يُمرّ على بلاد السَّأم م يقطع اسافل ارص مصر والقيروان ويسهى الى بحر المنرب والاقليم الرابع يبدئ من المسرف ومر بلاد التب تم على خراسان وما وراء نهر جيعون وارض العراق والديام و مَصَ بلاد الشأم والروم مم في بحر الشام على جزيرة فيرس و رودس و يعرب المعرب على المعرب العرب على المن المعرب الم والاقليم الحامس يبتدئ من المشرق من بلاد يأجوج وماجوج ويمرّ على شكل بلاد خراسان وما وراء النهر وخوارزم ثمّ على آذربيجان و أرمينية و بلادر الروم تم يمُرّ بسواحل محرالسّام ممّا يلى الشمال ثمّ على بلادالأندلس وينتهى الى عرالمعرب والاقليم السادس يسدئ من المشرف من شمال بلاد ياجوج ويَمُرُ على بلاد الترك مُمّ على سواحل بحر أبسكون ممّا يلى السمال مم يقطع بحر الروم ويمرّ ببلاد الصقالبة ويسرى الى بحرالمصوب والاقليم السابع سندى من المشرف من ملاد باحوج ويمرّ على بلاد التغزغز وأرضِ الترك ثمّ على بلاد اللَّان ثمّ على السرير ثمّ على بُرِجان مَمْ على بعض الصقاًلية وينتهى الى بحر الهغرب

و فأرض الصِي واحلة في ثلثة من هذه الأقاليم لِاستلادٍ أطوافِها وكتوة بلادها وليا كانت بلادها موضوعة في مشارف الشمس كانت أهويتها صافية وصاهها باردةً [13a] عَدَنةً وتُربها طيبةً وإذا كانت البلاد بهذه الصفة كان سُكَّانِها وَعُمَّارِهِا كَذِلِكِ لِما ذَكُونَا أَنَّ أَخْصُ الاَسْياء الحيوان تُرْيَتُه الَّتي يتكوّن ضيها وُلهِذَا يُنسَب الانسان الى التوب كما يُنسَب الى الوالدين فَيْقال حِجازِيٌّ وَ شآم ورومي وهندي وصيبي كما يقال عدناني وقطاني وعلوي وعباسي فاهُلُ الصي معنَدلو المراج حسنو الشكل والصورة سلسو الأعلاق وهم احناسُ معتلفة البلاد والمساكن

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(3) وينقسم أراضهم ثلثة اقسام وهي الصين وتُعتّاي الّني يسمّيها العامّة خطاى و يُسْمِ " وَأَعظمها خِطَةً وَصَالَةً الصينَ تندا ! . . Ms العامّة خطاء الله الله الله عندلوا حسنوا سلسوا . Ms الله عندلوا حسنوا . Ms الله عندلوا . Ms الله عندلوا حسنوا . Ms الله عندلوا . Ms الله عندلوا . Ms الله عندلوا عندلوا . Ms الله 
## ألباب التامِن

## في صفّة الصّيب

[19] (1) ملكة الصبى واسعة الرفعة كثيرة الهدن والأمصار والقرى و تدخِل في المنه أقاليم وذلك ان التقليم الاوّل يبتدى من المشرف مَى أقامي بلاد الصين و يَمْرٌ على بلاد الصيي ممَّا يلي الجنوبو فيه مدينة الملك وفيه مرفأ السفى وحوالمرفأ الصيني تم يمرّ على سواحل البجر في جنوب بلاد الهند مُ على بلاد السند و يمُرٌ في البحر على جزيرة الكرك ويقطع البحر الى جزيرة العرب وأرض اليمس وبلاده وهی ظفار و عُمان و عدن و حضرموت و صنعاً، و جوش و مهرة و سبار وَ غَيْرِهَا تُمَّ يَقَطَع بِحَو القُلْزِم فَيَمَرٌ فَي بِلَادَ الْحِيشَةِ وَيَقِطْعِ نَبِلُ مصر و من على الله الذي يسمى جَرْمَى وهو دار ملك الحبشة ويمرٌ على دنقلة وهي مدينة النوبة تم يمُرٌ في ارض المغرب على حنوب بلاد البربر ألى أن ينتهى الى بحو المعوب والا<del>قليم الثاني</del> يبتدئ من المشرق فيمرٌ على بلاد الصين تم على بلاد [191] الهند تم بلاد السندويمرٌ على المنصورة و دُيْبُلُ و يقطع البحر الأخضر وبحرالبصرة وجزيرة العرب في أرض نجدٍ و زيامة واليمامة والبعرين وهجرو يقطع بحوالقلزم ويمرٌ في صعيد مصر م يمرٌ في أرض المغرب على وسط بلاد إفريقية مم عمرٌ على بلاد البربر و ينتهى الى بحرالم والاقليم الثالث يبتدئ من المسرق فيمس على شمال بلاد الصين م على بلاد الهند وعلى شمال بلاد السند أمَّ على بلاد كانل ثمّ على كرمان وسيستان ثمّ على سواحل

## أبوابُ في الطّين والترائب والهند منتبة من كتاب طنب بع الحكيوان الموالمروزيّ الطّبيب شرف الزّمان لها هوالمروزيّ

كَتَبَهُ غُو سَنَةٍ